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CONTENTS

Editorial.....2
Sri Lanka Conflict Deepens.....3
Citizenship Rights for Plantation Tamils.....4
21 Tamils Massacred in Muthur.....6
E.N.L.F.'s November Memo ...8
Jaffna City, A Security Zone 10
"Operation Bullet-Rain" 11
The Tulf Proposals For Regional Autonomy.....12/13
"National Identity is the Question".....14
How Not To Solve The National Question.....15
Letters To The Editor.....16
"Women for Peace".....18
What The Others Say.....19
Classified Advertisements ...20
Stateless No More?.....22
Army Gang-Rapes Women and Kills Ten Males 24

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IT IS WAR,

Says Jayawardene

President Jayawardene of Sri Lanka has come out into the open with what he has hitherto been secretly preparing for – a declaration of war against the island's Tamil community. "I shall have a military solution to what I believe is a military problem", he said in an interview with the Indian journalist, Kudlip Nayar.

New Delhi is said to have been outraged at this outburst of the rather unpredictable, if not unreliable, President, so much so Rajiv Gandhi ordered the immediate cancellation of his Foreign Secretary, Romesh Bhandari's visit to Colombo. The visit was aimed at efforts to resume negotiations to end the ethnic conflict and arrive at a peaceful solution.

Even as the President spelt out his menacing strategy, his security forces were engaged in a sustained and continuous campaign of military operations in the Tamil north and east of the island. Spraying bullets from the air and firing mortar shells into thickly populated areas, resulting in scores of civilian casualties, are continuing unabated. His forces, including the notorious 'home guards', consisting of an assortment of thugs and lumpen criminal elements, were committing the most heinous crimes of mass murder, rape and arson against the Tamil people on an unprecedented scale under the cloak of fighting a war against 'terrorism'.

"I am winning this war . . . I have come to realise that only success matters. I do not care what New Delhi, London or any other country says. How quickly and effectively I can exterminate the militants is the crux of the problem and I am on the point of achieving this", he told the Indian journalist. An astonished senior Sinhalese civil rights activist in Colombo responded: "Yes, Jayawardene is trying to achieve his aim not by tackling the militants, but by turning the Tamil areas into a mass graveyard".

In prosecuting this war of virtual genocide against a section of Sri Lanka's own population, Jayawardene pompously proclaimed, "My army is better equipped and better trained. Now I have more weapons. Countries like Pakistan are training my men. In 1985" (even as the charade of the Bhutan talks was continuing), "Pakistan trained 60 Officers and 1500 Junior Commissioned Officers. My Air Force is also being trained by people from abroad." The fact of the matter is that the President's so-called trained army and air force are not able to track down and confront the Tamil militants, but are engaged in 'raining bullets' from helicopters equipped with a fire capacity of 4000 rounds a minute and his men are employing these lethal weapons shooting indiscriminately into civilian centres with dozens of casualties at a time.

To the Tamil community of Sri Lanka, the war-mongering statement of the President comes as no surprise. They have had enough experience over the decades of double talk, duplicity, deceit and blatant lies from the Sinhala-dominated leadership in Colombo. That all their endeavour was for a political solution to the island's ethnic strife was something which the Tamils had doubted always. The President has only vindicated and confirmed what the Tamil militants had repeatedly asserted: President Jayawardene was only buying time to strengthen his military machine by engaging in bogus negotiations.

Army atrocities that are being continuously committed in the Tamil areas confirm what the President has stated in words. The following are a few of the many incidents reported recently:

23.1.86: A combined foray by army, navy and air force personnel in carrying out a 'search and destroy operation' in Tellipalai, Veemankamam, Kadduvan and other adjoining villages in the Jaffna district, killed 16 civilians, injured several more, and set fire to 22 houses, one van and several cars. One of the victims was the head teacher of Ganesha Vidyasalai, Mr. Varatharaja

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ON THE ROAD TO NIRVANA, WITH ZIA

'IF ONLY', President Zia announced during his recent visit to Kandy, while on a foolish UNP fishing-trip in Sri Lankan Muslim waters, 'Pakistan had been an arms-producing or trading nation, I would have put all I had in support of Lanka's war against terrorism'. With political friends like this – who has little more than state-supported heroin manufacture to put on the world market – what need has Jayawardene of enemies?

Nevertheless, Jayawardene has enemies, and as the Vietnamese-style 'body-count' rises, their number is also growing, inside and outside Sri Lanka; the recent arrests of Sinhalese left 'traitors' show how deep a mess Colombo is in. And in such a mess, there is nothing that Pakistan's Zia can pass on, no lessons – military or political – he can teach Jayawardene which will not make the mess deeper. 'I am winning the war', the latter has announced (yet again), to The Times New Delhi correspondent. But what is this 'war' except an unwinnable conflict with the Tamils of Sri Lanka, a conflict which is relentlessly carrying Sinhalese interests (ask the Sinhalese refugees in their camps in Sri Lanka) down with it? 'I am on the point of exterminating the militants. Only success matters', Jayawardene added, polishing his Dharmista image, with nothing to offer except a Nirvana of endless bloodshed on 'Buddha's island'.

But the truth is completely different from these shamelessly uncivilized pronouncements. Instead, just as the Sri Lankan economy is spinning into disaster, so the 'war' – another word for the refusal to compromise with the just demands of the Tamil people – is no longer within Colombo's means to control. Its impact, like the shock wave of a continuous eruption, is spreading across the island, its tremors now regularly shaking the very heartlands of the economy of Sri Lanka. (At the moment, there is idle talk of elections. But how could this be held in those areas of Sri Lanka now lost to Colombo?). The crude and amateurish bluff of the Colombo regime may struggle to conceal what has happened to Sri Lanka. But the level of knowledge of the truth is also rising in the world's media; recent coverage in The Times reveals it. Even the splits in Jayawardene's own ranks – with Finance Minister de Mel, struggling to cope with Sri Lanka's near bankruptcy, on one side, and the Sinhalese 'warriors' on the other – have become obvious.

Yet what non-Tamils (and many Tamils themselves) fail to grasp is that the old Sri Lanka can never be put back together. Not by Jayawardene's policy of 'extermination'; not by elections, even if they could be held; not with the aid of Zia, or Reagan, or whoever; and not by political manoeuvre, whether by Jayawardene or those who will in the near future succeed him. Pakistani, British, Israeli, Italian, Chinese, American or South African guns can only wound, and wound again, the bleeding state of Sri Lanka; wounds caused in the first instance not by Tamils, but by those who should have been, but never were, guardians of the interests of all the people of the nation.

'Within a year', Jayawardene, flexing his Pakistani muscles, has also told The Times, 'the army will have eliminated violence'. (To do that, it would have to begin by purging its own ranks of sadists). If only it were true. But it isn't; and today, at last, it is not only the Tamil Times, but also the London Times which knows it. Moreover, the real and fundamental reasons why it will not come to pass are not found in Madras, nor in the 'wickedness' of 'terrorists', nor in the ill-will of the Tamils. They are to be found – as all Tamils, most impartial, international observers, and even a growing number of Sinhalese know full well – in Colombo.

In the meantime, Jayawardene is welcomed to the embrace of the military dictator, and 'elected' President, Zia. It is an embrace, like that between Colombo and Pretoria, the S.A.S. and Mossad, which shames Sri Lanka; an embrace between blood brothers. And for what? Sickeningly, to secure the 'extermination' of 'terrorists' in the name of the Buddha's peace and justice. But who are the 'terrorists'? They are citizens of Sri Lanka, militants and civilians, Tamil men, Tamil women and Tamil children. What is being done to them cannot, and never will, be forgiven.

Mrs. Bandaranaike and Tamil Plantation Workers

THE REACTION of Mrs. Bandaranaike, the leader of the Sri Lanka Freedom Party, to the decision of the government to restore citizenship rights to the long suffering plantation workers is typical. Her unprincipled politics, blatant opportunism and her capacity to rouse the basest racist feelings among the Sinhalese to gain political power are manifest more than ever before.

Mrs. Bandaranaike is also lacking in gratitude. Except the diehards of the UNP leadership, all the opposition parties, trade unions including those of the plantation workers, and the Tamil United Liberation Front had consistently opposed the deprivation of her civic rights and all of them had repeatedly called upon the government to restore her rights. Having got her civic rights back, she agitates for the plantation workers to remain deprived of their basic rights.

Mrs. Bandaranaike's complaint is that the electorates in the central highlands would hereafter return MPs representing the plantation workers with the grant of citizenship to them. Why not? In fact these electorates did return MPs representing the plantation workers before they were cruelly and arbitrarily deprived of their franchise in 1949 by a government of which her late husband was a Minister.

We are also constrained to ask: If the late Mr. S.W.R.D. Bandaranaike, a descendant of the South Indian Nilaperumal, could be Prime Minister; his son, Anura Bandaranaike, could be Leader of the Opposition and certainly entertaining further ambitions, and if J.R. Jayawardene, a direct descendant of the South Indian Thambi Mudaliyar, can occupy the elevated position of Sri Lanka's president, why cannot the plantation Tamils, although of Indian origin, who by their sweat and toil produce the bulk of Sri Lanka's national wealth, have their rights restored and return MPs of their choice?

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Sri Lanka Conflict Deepens

Turning The Screw On Colombo

By A. S. ABRAHAM

IN A RECENT INTERVIEW, the Prime Minister said that finding a solution to the ethnic conflict in Sri Lanka in the near future would be "very difficult". There are other indications that New Delhi is wearying of the issue. Although the Sri Lanka president, Mr. J. R. Jayawardene, wants the foreign secretary, Mr. Romesh Bhandari, to come to Colombo for further discussions, New Delhi is apparently taking its time sending him there. According to G. K. Reddy, writing in *The Hindu* (January 14), "it has been made amply clear to him (President Jayawardene) that no useful purpose would be served by Mr. Bhandari's visit at this stage . . ."

Unfortunately, New Delhi is in a bind of its own making. By involving itself more and more deeply in the negotiations for a compromise, it reduces its own effectiveness as a mediator when its exertions prove repeatedly fruitless. When, aware of this, it chooses to distance itself somewhat from the conflict, it risks seeing it rapidly deteriorate as the protagonists, with no outside agency that they respect reining them in any more, rush headlong into bloody violence. As the stakes are further raised, it becomes yet more difficult for New Delhi to apply its mediatory skills to effect.

New Delhi's plight is not a little due to its reluctance to turn the screw on Colombo. There has never been any question of its being able or willing to do so with the Tamil militants. The result of this lack of evenhandedness has been to encourage Colombo to believe that the more it stalls, the more New Delhi will pressure the Tamil representatives to make concessions. True, President Jayawardene did submit his proposals some months ago But he did so only after being repeatedly urged by New Delhi. One has only to recall his about-turn on the Annexure C proposals on which he had previously concurred with the then chief Indian mediator, Mr. G. Parthasarathy, to realise that Colombo's strategy has been to play for time, keep New Delhi quiet by appearing to go along with its plans and, meanwhile, to equip Sri Lanka's security forces to be more than a match for the Tamil militants.

Ready For Peace

Having, by and large, attained these objectives – President Jayawardene has confidently said his government is now ready for "peace or war" – Colombo has not yet bothered to respond to the TULF's counter-proposals to its original suggestions, it also continues to shift its ground. At one time, it would not so much as countenance the Tamil demand for the merger of the northern and eastern provinces into a single, autonomous unit since this would be to pave the way for Tamil secessionism. Sensitive to its susceptibilities, New Delhi made it clear to the Tamil leaders – evidence of its preparedness to lean on them rather than on Colombo – that it could not support such a merger.

Having won that round, President Jayawardene then began to hem and haw about the TULF's other demands for giving these provinces powers to maintain law and order, regulate land settlement, provide education, and so on. Yet, earlier, when the merger proposal was supposed to be the main obstacle to a settlement, he was prepared to consider these demands on the principle that the provinces would have powers similar to those enjoyed by states in India.

New Delhi's present response – being cool to Colombo – is inadequate and plays straight into Colombo's hands. While New Delhi luxuriates in the feeling that Colombo is smarting under its studied indifference, the Sri Lanka security forces have a *carte blanche,* which is what New Delhi's new-found hauteur gives them in practice, to go after the Tamil militants with the devastating gadgetry that Colombo's vastly augmented defence expenditure – six-and-a-half billion rupees last year – has provided them.

Rubber-Stamping Body

The virtual collapse of the ceasefire monitoring committee could not have come at a more convenient time for the proponents of a "military solution" in Sri Lanka. **With the resignation from the panel of the two members representing the Tamil militants, it has been reduced to a rubber-stamping body required only to put its seal of approval on whatever atrocities against the Tamils, militants or civilians, Sri Lanka soldiers might perpetrate.** Only just before the two resignations, the committee had found itself unable to endorse the security forces' claim that 16 Tamils who had died "single-bullet" deaths in a recent incident in the eastern province of Batticaloa were the victims of the crossfire between soldiers and militants. This was tantamount to saying that they had been murdered. Soon after, one of the two representatives of the militants on the committee found himself the target of a helicopter attack, which he only just survived, while the other received numerous threats to his life.

These developments took place even as the security forces began to make Jaffna Province, the Tamil heartland, the focus of their offensive. Earlier, the militants had been able to restrict the fighting to the edges of Tamil-inhabited areas in the north and east and occasionally even to carry it into predominantly Sinhalese areas. With the army making it a major objective to take the bloodletting into the Tamil-dominated northern and eastern provinces, an over-scrupulous ceasefire monitoring committee, which the retention of representatives of the Tamil militants would have made it, would only have been a hindrance.

Not long ago, Mr Rajiv Gandhi said that Indian Tamils from Sri Lanka's central highlands plantation who have chosen to become Indian citizens, given up their jobs, collected their dues and are ready to leave will not be accepted here unless the Sri Lanka Tamil refugees in Tamil Nadu, who fled Sri Lanka after the 1983 anti-Tamil pogrom and after the army began to crack down on the Tamil militants, are able to go back to their homes in safety. If this was meant to pressure Colombo into being more forthcoming in resolving the ethnic dispute, it was misconceived, it would only have boomeranged on New Delhi which would have fallen foul of applying extraneous conditions to the execution of an agreement to which it is a signatory and which would also have penalised not Colombo but innocent Indian Tamils who had burnt all their boats.

Fortunately, the new Indo-Sri Lankan agreement on the status of Indian Tamils makes it clear that New Delhi has given up any such dubious notion of "linkage". It has undertaken to confer citizenshp on nearly 85,000 Indian Tamils, while Sri Lanka will do the same for another 94,000 of them. Between them, the entire Indian Tamil population of 975,000 covered by the 1964 Shastri-Sirimavo pact have now been assured the security they have long been seeking. However, in view of the tardiness with which the pact has so far been implemented, it would be premature to be too optimistic about the execution of the latest accord. In any case, the conferment of citizenship is one thing, actual repatriation another.

The agreement is not without implications for the ethinic conflict. Colombo has always wanted to ensure against the forging of an anti-Sinhalese alliance between the Sri Lanka Tamils and

Continued on page 5

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CITIZENSHIP RIGHTS FOR PLANTATION TAMILS

THE LONG overdue restoration of citizenship rights to the plantation Tamils of Sri Lanka, not all who are presently regarded as 'stateless', but to 94,000 and their natural increases since 1964, is a singularly important event. Had they not been arbitrarily deprived of their basic rights of citizenship, nationality and franchise in 1948, the history of Sri Lanka would have evolved in a different direction. The political and economic clout of this all important sector of the working class, an important and sizeable segment of the ethnic Tamil population, would have made all the difference in the world. The paralysis that afflicts the left and the trade union movement and the chauvinist poison that permeates Sri Lankan society could have been avoided.

In deciding to restore their citizenship rights, the government bowed to the first and only political action launched by the plantation workers led by the Ceylon Workers Congress. Since 1948, they have gone on strike many a time for varied reasons, but never for their basic rights of citizenship and the vote.

The CWC launched its campaign of prayer beginning January 14. The CWC leadership must be congratulated for the ingenious method they chose to highlight their plight; all the plantation workers were to down tools for four hours each day and engage in prayer. It did not, on the face of it, pose any challenge to anybody; it could not have been described as unduly provocative. When the campaign was announced, no one, including the government, took it seriously. However, as the days drew closer to January 14, the potential repercussions of the action come to be felt everywhere. The most important fear was the damage to an already beleaguered tea industry.

Having ridiculed the idea of a prayer campaign to begin with, government leaders began to threaten the CWC. Minister Gamini Dissanayake who heads a rival plantation union, in announcing that his union would not join the campaign, warned his cabinet colleague, Mr. Thondaman, that the latter was being provocative and that the action would result in a major outbreak of communal violence. The state-controlled media was even worse – one editorial said: Pray and be damned. The government also warned the workers that they would not be paid for the whole day even though they might be away for only 4 hours. The CWC responded by announcing that if that were to happen, the workers would 'pray' for the whole day.

No amount of pressure could persuade the CWC to abandon the campaign. Other unions too jumped on the bandwagon and extended support. Hurried negotiations between the government and Thondaman, between the government and India, and between Thondaman and the Indian Prime Minister ended with the government's announcement of its decision to grant citizenship rights to 94,000 'stateless' persons and their natural increase. Despite mounting threats from the opposition Sri Lanka Freedom party

By Courtesy of The Hindu

(SLFP) and other traditional Sinhala chauvinist sections, the government eventually pushed through the necessary legislation.

After 36 years, the plantation workers achieved their basic rights with a minimum show of industrial muscle. One wonders why the leadership of these workers waited so long consigning them to decades of suffering and the forcible repatriation of tens of thousands of them, when the same muscle could have been applied earlier with equal effect.

In the meantime, Mrs. Bandaranaike has once again mounted her familiar anti-Tamil, anti-Indian hobby horse. Her party, in association with an assortment of Sinhala chauvinist organisations, challenged the Bill to grant citizenship in the courts without success. She is presently going round the country denouncing the government's action as a betrayal of the Sinhala-Buddhists. She has got a friendly and powerful ally in her campaign in the Buddhist clergy. **The blatant opportunism of this unprincipled ally is evident in its present opposition to the government's action, when in February 1984 it recommended the grant of citizenship rights to the 'stateless' on the ground that it would remove any cause India might have to interfere in Sri Lankan affairs.** Now that they seem to be confident of India's non-intervention, the Buddhist clergy has performed a volte-face.

The whipping up of anti-plantation Tamil feeling by the SLFP and its supporters has already resulted in sporadic violence in the plantation areas, necessitating the imposition of dusk to dawn curfews. Although the violence seems to have been contained within mangageable proportions, the danger of escalation is ever present. Mrs. Bandaranaike and other chauvinist sections, both within and outside the government, have to be held directly responsible for the ensuing violence.

Regional Autonomy

TO PREVENT disaster to the whole nation, start negotiations, urges the Sri Lanka Communist Party.

The Communist Party urges the Sri Lankan government to start negotiations for a political solution to the National Question on the basis of the alternative proposals put forward by the TULF through the Indian Government.

"If the government rejects this and proceeds with the military solution to the problem, that will only drive the whole nation and the entire people to disaster more severe than the present".

The statement adds that the party firmly believes that regional autonomy is the solution to the National Question.

Friends For The Anguished

"HELP US to rehabilitate these destitute patients" appeals the Friends of the Psychiatric Unit, District Hospital, Tellipalai, Sri Lanka.

"We have established a library for the patients. We wish to start training in cultivation and small industry suitable to each individual patient".

It is the generosity of the public that has made it possible for this Society to carry on its good work. "Please send your contributions to the Treasurer, Friends of the Psychiatric Unit, District Hospital, Tellippalai, Sri Lanka", pleads the Society.

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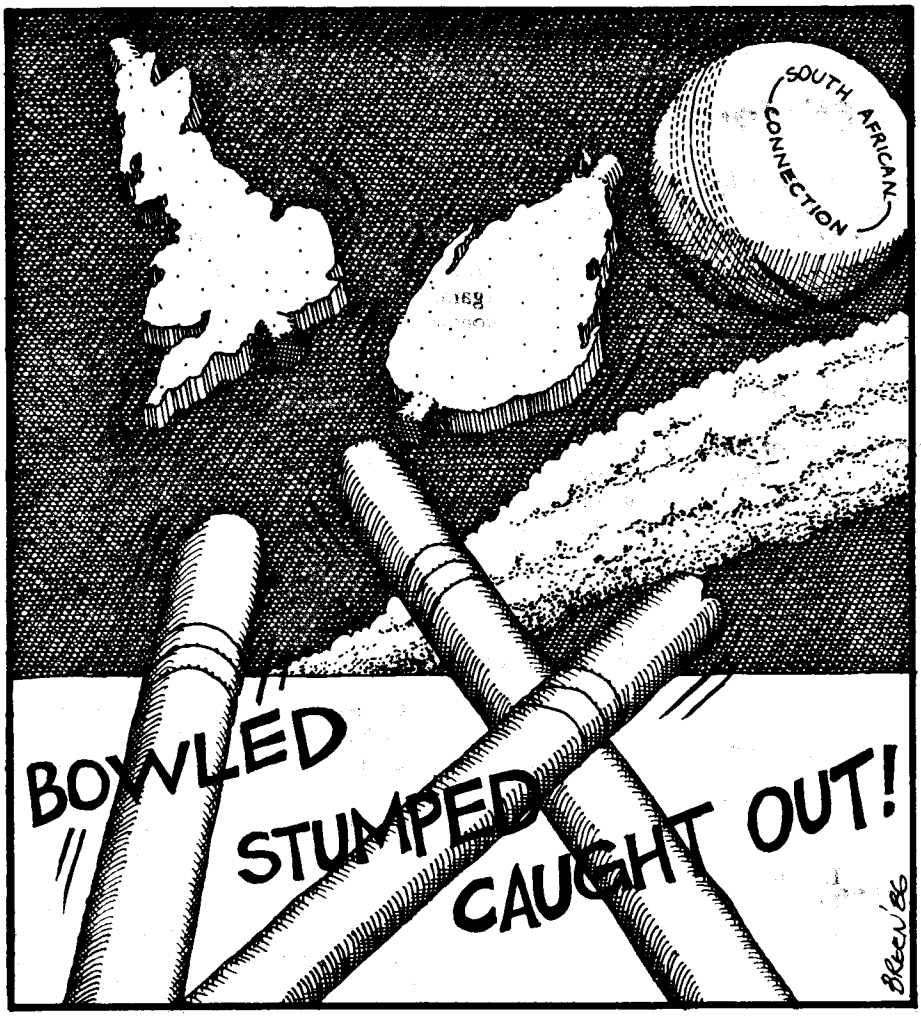

RED CARPET FOR RACISTS

The Cabinet has given the green light to racism in sport by its decision to accept the controversial British "B-Team" of British cricketers who arrived on January 9 and will play in Sri Lanka against various sides for a month.

The visiting team is not a Test side, nor is its visit part of an official Test series. It has become the source of international controversy due to the insistence on including four players who broke the international sports ban on apartheid South Africa by playing there for big money.

The present tour was intended to include Bangladesh, Sri Lanka and Zimbabwe. But Bangladesh cancelled the tour as the British side insisted on including the four players who had played in South Africa. Their inclusion has also created a storm in Zimbabwe, where the tour has also been cancelled.

In Sri Lanka, however, the decision to go ahead with the visit was taken by the Cabinet on January 3. To make matters worse, extra matches were agreed to so that the visitors could spend the time here they would otherwise have spent in Bangladesh.

The disgraceful decision by the Cabinet runs contrary to an earlier decision to ban several Sri Lankan cricketers, who had also broken ranks to play in South Africa for big money, from taking part in first class cricket here for several years.

Sports circles are wondering whether this latest decision is the first step in the process of reversing this decision.

Political circles see the decision as yet another demonstration by the Jayawardene Cabinet of its determination to go along with any British decision, however reprehensible, come what may.

They compare it with President Jayawardene's recent public apology to Britain for the fact that Sri Lanka's representatives in the U.N. had not supported Britain when its colonial war in connection with the Falkland Islands came under almost universal condemnation in the world body.

By courtesy of "FORWARD" (Colombo)

Continued from page 3

the Indian Tamils. The latter are, of course, not involved in the former's struggle for *Eelam* or autonomy; the different interests, experience and history of the two Tamil communities have prevented them from forming a single entity. The presence in the Sri Lanka cabinet throughout the post-1983 intensification of the Sri Lanka Tamil-Sinhalese conflict of Mr S. Thondaman the Indian Tamils' leader, speaks volumes for their non-engagement in that struggle.

Nevertheless, the Sinhalese apprehend that such an alliance is not inconceivable, especially if Sinhalese chauvinism continues, as it has done in the past, to savage Indian Tamils who live in overwhelmingly Sinhalese areas and are only too exposed to Sinhalese fury whenever it vents itself. The agreement with New Delhi, which both governments have said will resolve once and for all the long-standing problem of the statelessness of Indian Tamils, may not have been purely expediently motivated on Colombo's side. But it does further its objective of preventing the emergence of any coincidence of interests between Indian and Sri Lanka Tamils. At the same time, the restoration of Mrs Sirimavo Bandarnaike's civic rights could help to unite and rally the Sinhalese majority behind President Jayawardene should he decide to pursue a military solution less ambiguously than now.

New Delhi's Role

In such euphoria as the agreement may generate – to the extent it promotes Indo-Sri Lankan goodwill, it does reinforce New Delhi's mediatory role in the ethnic conflict – New Delhi should not unlearn the lesson it is apparently learning from Colombo's deliberate dilatoriness on the still-stalemated talks with TULF leaders. It needs to and must get tough with Colombo. **Standing aloof and being distant will achieve nothing except to give Colombo the free rein it wants to be able to clobber the militants without incurring New Delhi's wrath. New Delhi must, if anything, involve itself more deeply than before in resolving the conflict and badger Colombo into spelling out just how much autonomy it is prepared to concede the Tamils. Simultaneously, Colombo must be told that the pursuit, however disguised, of a "military solution" will only hasten the advent of the very contingency it is striving every nerve to avert.**

By Courtesy of The Times of India (27 January 1986)

REFUGEES FED

THE REFUGEES numbering over 300 at the Kachcheri-Navalar Road camp in Jaffna, were provided with a special lunch on 2nd January. The programme was organised under the auspices of the Saturday Review Refugees Relief Fund and was in memory of Mr. S. Ambalavanar, the brother of the late Mr. S. Kathiravetpillai MP.

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21 TAMILS MASSACRED IN MUTHUR

165 Houses Burnt

ON 27 NOVEMBER 1985, in a combined 'operation' by the Sri Lankan armed forces and the so-called home guards in four villages in the eastern town of Muthur, 21 Tamils were brutally murdered and 165 houses set ablaze. Of the 22 Tamils arrested on this occasion, 18 were shot dead and their bodies burnt at 5th mile post at Sampoor, and the balance, 4, were taken to a gun-boat and shot. Three of them died and one, Kandiah Sundaram, 30 years old, survived to tell the tale.

The following details are in the possession of the Trincomalee Citizens Committee, and they have been presented to the Ceasefire Monitoring Committee too:

1. AT KADDAIPARICHAN at about 4.30 a.m.
25 Houses burnt. 2 Persons arrested:

	Age	*Occupation*
Subramaniam Sinnaiah	26	Labourer
Kangesu Alakasundaram	32	Labourer

2. AT CHENAIYOOR at about 7.30 a.m.
20 Houses burnt. 9 Persons arrested:

Pathinian Thurairetnam	29	Labourer
Natsingam Sri	20	Labourer
Vinayagamoorbhy Thurainayagam	38	Labourer
Vyramani Sinnarajah	22	Labourer
Sellathurai Wavaratnarajah	25	Labourer
Selvarajah Ganeshalingam	22	Farmer
Ponnaiah Singaravelu	22	Labourer
Selvarajah Murugan	18	Labourer
Shanmugam Arul	19	Labourer

3. AT KADDAKARAICHENAI at about 10.00 a.m.
20 Houses burnt. 9 persons arrested:

	Age	*Occupation*
Gopalapillai Nagaratnam	21	Labourer
Karthigesu Kathirgamathamby	40	Carpenter
Sinnathamby Sivyogamoorthy	23	Labourer
Kathirgamathamby Kanagasingam	35	Pump attendant

4. AT SAMPOOR at about 1.00 p.m.
All the above mentioned arrested persons were taken to Sampoor and eighteen (18) of them shot dead and the bodies were burnt. Later they burnt about 100 houses, and arrested 2 more persons at Sampoor Maha Vidyalaya Refugee's Camp.

	Age	*Occupation*
Kandaiah Suntharam	30	Labourer
Vyramuthu Thurairajasingam	22	Labourer

Then, from Sampoor, the Armed Forces and Home Guards moved towards the Sea Beach and proceeded to the place called 'Vaddam' near Kadakaraichenai, where the Navy Gun Boat was anchored.

The Armed personnel and the Home Guards got into the Gun Boat with the help of the 4 remaining arrested persons. These 4 persons carried and helped the Security personnel to get into the Gun Boat. Then the Armed Forces who were on the Gun Boat ordered the 4 persons to sit on one edge of the small plastic boat, (which they used for carrying them to the Gun Boat from the shore) and shot them. Three were killed on the spot. The only one who survived was **Kandaiah Suntharam from Sampoor.**

ARMY KILLS SIX TAMILS AND LOOTS JEWELLERY

The coldblooded murder of six Tamils about midnight of 10/11 November 1985 by the Sri Lankan armed forces at Kantalai was subsequently reported in the state-controlled media as having been perpetrated by 'Tamil Terrorists'.

In a letter dated 16 November 1985 addressed to the Secretary General of the Ceasefire Monitoring Committee, the Citizens Committee for National Harmony of Trincomalee, a body composed of Sinhalese, Muslims and Tamils, has given details of the incident and looting of jewellery carried out by members of the security forces.

The Citizens Committee states in their letter that they had investigated all the circumstances and found the facts as follows:

On Saturday, the 9th instant at about 3.00 p.m. a group of Army personnel came to the village of Kantalai along Kovil Road where Tamil people are resident. They got down from their vehicle and walked into every house situated on this road and occupied by Tamils, with the excuse that they were doing a "Check". They elicited particulars regarding all the inmates in such houses. The males who were present at that time were assaulted and threatened with death.

These Army personnel went to one Markandu's house. An old lady was the sole occupant at that time. They ransacked the house. One of the rooms was padlocked. They broke open the door and ransacked that room too. Next they went to one Chitravelu's house and then to Jeevanandan's house. The inmates of these houses were threatened to the effect that they should get out of Kantalai before 16.11.1985. On the same day this group of Army personnel went into the Hindu Temple premises also and assaulted the Priest of this Temple.

On the 11th instant, at about midnight the same Tamil people heard the noise of a vehicle coming along the Kovil Road towards their houses. A group of Army personnel got down from this vehicle and walked towards one Ratnasabapathy's house and tapped on the door. The inmates did not open the door. The group abused them and then walked towards one Chitravelu's house.

Through fright the inmates opened the door. The Army personnel threatened to take the two grown up daughters of the occupant to the Army Camp for an "inquiry". The two girls and their mother wailed. They left them and went on to the next house belonging to Nalliah Soundariamma and banged the door. Soundariamma's son, Ratnasingam aged 33 years, came out. The Army personnel detained him and ordered him to wait outside and not to move.

Then they went into one Mylvaganam's house. In this house, the Army personnel took into custody four persons namely,
Mylvaganam Rajeswary
– female aged 24 years
Mylvaganam Shanthini
– female aged 20 years
Kathirkamathamby Shanmugarajah
– male aged 35 years
Mamasivayam Thevarajah
– male aged 34 years

They threatened Mrs. Mylvaganam when she cried and robbed her of her thalikody (gold chain with thali) which she was wearing round her neck at that time. Then they went into the next house and took one Vethanayagam Kugendrarajah, male aged 30 years, into custody.

It was about 2.00 a.m. by this time and the Army Personnel took all the above mentioned six persons, four males and two females, whom they took into custody to their vehicle and drove off with them out of the village.

Next morning, the dead bodies of these

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WHY THEY RESIGNED

THE resignation of Professor K. Sivathamby and Mr. K. Sivapalan from the Committee Monitoring the Cessation of Hostilities (CMCH) will seriously weaken the authority of the Committee.

The two members who resigned were the only ones chosen by the government from a list of names submitted by the ENLF. All others were government nominees.

The two resignees were independent representatives of Tamil opinion. Both are leading figures in the Citizens Committees of Jaffna and Trincomalee and are respected not merely in the north and east but in the rest of the country as well.

Neither the two members nor the government have disclosed why the resignations took place, apart from saying that they involved the "incidents that took place in Jaffna on January 4 and 5".

It is learnt, however, that the two members maintained that the Committee could not function as a body independent of both the armed services and the militant Tamil groups if it had to subordinate itself to the directions and "advice" of the armed services as to what it should and should not do, or to carry on its work under the protection of only one side whose conduct it had to supervise.

It is learnt, further, that the two members objected to the conduct of the armed services towards the Committee when it tried to conduct inquiries in Jaffna on January 4 and 5, especially the attempt to confine the Committee to the Palaly Airport and, later, the Jaffna Fort, where the army garrison is stationed.

It is learned, further, that, when the two members wanted to leave the Fort after protesting against any inquiries being held there, the army refused to provide them with transport, thereby compelling them to walk from the Fort to the Resthouse while hostilities were in progress. Reports say that the G.A., Jaffna also had to leave the same way.

Continued from page 6

six persons were found with gun shot injuries and cut injuries in the breast.

Subsequently these bodies were brought to the Trincomalee Base Hospital by the Police.

After the inquest, these bodies were released to the relatives who claimed them.

Mrs. Mylvaganam and Mr. Chitravelu state that the Army personnel who came to the village on the 10th and abducted the six victims were the same personnel who visited the village on the 9th instant at about 3.00 p.m.

No Political Bans On Jobs, Says C.R.M.

THE Civil Rights Movement of Sri Lanka has issued the following statement:

"The report that the government intends to exclude from state employment 'graduates and advanced level students who have close connections with extremist leftist parties' is surprising and deplorable.

"According to the Island of 23 December 1985 a senior government Minister has said that such persons applying for government jobs will be subjected to strict security clearance.

"This news item also refers to investigating recent student protests in schools, and to 'secret reports' being called for 'about government servants in various sections of the government service who engage in activities that verge on sabotage'.

Contrary

"Such measures would be contrary to the right to freedom of belief and expression, freedom of association, protection against discrimination on the grounds of political opinion, and the right to equality before the law, all of which are guaranteed both by our Constitution, and by the International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights to which Sri Lanka is a party.

"The Covenant, which Sri Lanka is bound to uphold by international law, furthermore provides that every citiz en, 'without distinction of any kind such as . . . political or other opinion . . . shall have the right and the opportunity . . . to have access, on general terms of equality, to public service in his country'.

"The proposed discrimination would be repugnant to basic tenets of fairness and tolerance, and detrimental to that open debate and free interplay of competing ideas so basic to a free society.

"The suggestion is ominously reminiscent of the MacCarthyist witch hunt that stained the political life of the USA in the 1950's and is today deplored throughout the world including in the US itself.

"The proposal furthermore seems calculated not so much to protect the state from real or imaginary enemies, as to deter advanced level students and university students from their legitimate freedom of expression, which indeed includes the right to criticise the authorities.

"The reference to secret reports on government servants is liable to further weaken a public service already demoralised by political interference, and to convey the message that abjuration of any independent thinking is the only way to safeguard one's job.

"The Working Committee of CRM is reluctant to believe this news item is correct. It calls upon the government to dissociate itself from its contents publicly, and to assure the community of its intention to strictly uphold the freedom of expression of all sections of society including students, and protect the integrity and independence of the public service."

Guard The Homes From The Home Guards

THE SO CALLED "home-guards" of Sri Lanka have seldom been away from the headlines. A recent magisterial inquiry unearthed more details of the type of activities these units habitually engage in.

The inquiry at Muttur was told, in gruesome details, how five armed "home-guards", posing as soldiers, raped and shot dead two helpless Tamil women on Christmas Day.

Earlier there had been several reports of people being killed by "accidental" gun fire by "home-guards" engaged in the process of carrying out search operations; reports of even children in their homes being shot and of "home-guards" shooting themselves while handling fire-arms.

The number of cases which have come to light, illustrating the hazards of arming a body of undisciplined men and unleashing such a horde on a community already facing many perils, vindicates the fears which were expressed at the time the decision to set up "home-guards" was announced.

The "home-guards" are drawn from the cohorts and supporters of chauvinistic politicians. One of the unfortunate features of politics is that lumpen and rowdy elements of society are drawn into the services of politicians and as a result enjoy a degree of immunity. It is precisely such elements who find their way into such a set-up as "home-guards".

Far from safeguarding any community, their actions are leading to the destruction of whatever little amity that remains between the various communities.

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E.N.L.F.'S NOVEMBER MEMO

The ongoing process of negotiated settlement: An assessment and our position

Eelam National Liberation Front, the united front consisting of four liberation organisations EROS, EPRLF, TELO and LTTE, submitted the following memorandum to the Indian Prime Minister explaining their position vis-a-vis negotiations with the Sri Lankan government for a political solution of the ethnic conflict in the island.

AFTER a careful and thorough appraisal of the factors which motivated us to participate in the peace process initiated by the Government of India and the actual concrete situation that emerged as a consequence of this process, we are now firmly convinced that it is untimely and unrealistic to conceive of an alternative to Eelam as the basis for a just and permanent solution rather than a "just and permanent" solution would provide the base from which we could further our political struggle through the ballot within the existing constitutional framework.

The purpose of this memorandum is to explain to the Government of India as to how we, the united front consisting of four liberation organisations, arrived at the above position. We do this not merely in recognition and appreciation of India's role as a mediator, but also as a neighbouring country which is perceived by the Eelam Tamils as a friend and whose sympathy and support for their struggle is generally taken for granted.

Why we decided to participate in the talks

When we were initially approached by the concerned officials of the Indian government to agree to a ceasefire as a prelude to talks with the Sri Lankan government, we expressed our strong reservations, both individually and collectively, for the following reasons:

(1) The bitter experience of our people with broken pacts and unkept promises by successive Sri Lankan governments which characterized the process of negotiated settlements in the past;

(2) The more recent experience with the All Party Conference which was used by the Sri Lankan government as a camouflage to pursue a military solution and to engage in false propaganda internationally.

(3) The genocidal situation currently prevailing made us apprehensive of the possibility of anger and confusion arising in the minds of our people of peace talks taking place under these tragic conditions and the alienation and demoralisation within the rank and file of the liberation organisations taking part in the Talks.

Despite the above reservations we ultimately did agree to the observance of ceasefire and sent our delegations to Thimpu for Talks with the Sri Lankan government. The reasons leading to our collective decision were as follows:

(1) In view of the international recognition and acceptance given to the initiative undertaken by the Government of India, we did not want the image of our host a friendly nation to be tarnished. Further, we did not want to precipitate a situation which would have appeared as a case of us shunning the goodwill of the Government of India;

(2) The firm assurance given by the concerned officials of the Government of India that the interests of the Tamils of Sri Lanka would not in any way be compromised or subordinated to the interests of the Sri Lankan state;

(3) Our realization of the potential for demonstrating to world opinion that we were neither terrorists nor mere secessionists who were obsessed with arms and utopion ideas; we sincerely hoped that by going through the peace process initiated by the Government of India, we would not only gain legitimacy, but also demonstrate our commitment to peace;

(4) The lingering hope that a permanent and a just solution could be found through the force of reason rather than through the force of arms, despite the fact that our decision to take up arms was because all force of reason had failed to convince the successive Sri Lankan governments of the need to solve the Tamil National Question.

To sum up, we agreed to participate in the peace talks in recognition of the traditional friendship that exists between India and the Eelam Tamils, our recognition of India's strategic importance in the region and to our struggle, the need to establish our legitimacy internationally and most importantly, since we are for peace and are prepared to lay down our lives for peace. However, we were firm in our resolve that if peace could not be obtained by the force of reason then it shall be obtained by the force of arms, since what our beloved People expect from us is not to surrender but to achieve peace which would guarantee life and property and safeguard their honour and dignity. Our concern is with the increasing divergence between our expectations of the peace process and the concrete situation.

In view of the following developments arising out of the "peace process" where is neither peace nor any rationality in the process, it is now evident that the Sri Lankan government is only bent on abusing the Indian initiative by pursuing a military solution:

(1) The so called proposals placed by the Sri Lankan government delegation at Thimpu which were duly rejected by our delegation and conceded by the Government of India to be grossly inadequate, initially signalled the lack of seriousness of the Sri Lankan government to bring about negotiated settlement. **The subsequent "draft proposal" communicated through the Indian government although an improvement in terms of administrative reforms, does not even pretend to be a solution to the Tamil National Question.** The total negation of the very concept of a homeland of the Eelam Tamils and the proposed bifurcation aimed at undermining its territorial integrity and contiguity is just one instance. Although, as we have already pointed out in the enunciation of our four basic principles, we see the recognition of our homeland as a necessary but not a sufficient condition for a just and permanent solution, the mere fact that even this necessary condition was negated in the draft proposal, clearly demonstrates the incapacity and the unwillingness of the J. R. regime to resolve the nationality problem in Sri Lanka. On our part we were left with no option but to reject the draft proposal outright as not even constituting a basis for negotiations.

(2) The manner in which the Sri Lankan government responded to our demand that the ceasefire should be effectively monitored is once again indicative of its bad faith. After rejecting our demand for the need of an international body to monitor the ceasefire, the Sri Lankan government was clearly determined to make a mockery of the internal monitoring committee. Its intentions were clear when it initially rejected our two basic and rational demands that the Monitoring Committee be empowered with the right to visit prisons and detention camps and the right to make its reports public. Although, the Sri Lankan government finally conceded with much reluctance, at the insistence of the Government of India, its intentions of ensuring that the Monitoring Committee

Continued on page 9

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Continued from page 8

would not be effective was exposed in the process.

Further, the manner in which the Monitoring Committee was unilaterally expanded even while we were in consultation with the Foreign Secretary Mr. Romesh Bhandari and his officials and the subsequent harassments against our nominees to the panel does not augur well for our efforts to restore normality to the affected areas.

(3) Parallel to the above process of undermining the Indian government's initiative at a negotiated settlement is the intensification of the military option by the J. R. regime. Although initially it sought to use the peace talks as a smokescreen, the Sri Lankan government appears to have dropped even these pretences. Recent policy statements specifically refer to his government's commitment including a timeframe to a military option whether or not there is political settlement. Further, in the same tone he has referred to the holding of elections to the provincial councils whether or not there is a political settlement. What is of interest is that the above policy statement was made on his tour abroad and reflects his smug confidence in the military option. The point that we wish to emphasise is that the process of negotiated settlement initiated by the government of India and responded to favourably by us has now been rendered totally irrelevant.

What is of immediate concern to us is not only these jingoistic public announcements but also the actual situation in the field. The modus operandi of the armed forces of 'containment' in the North and 'expulsion and annihilation' in the East, highlights the seriousness with which the Sri Lankan state is pursuing the military option. The massive induction of men and material to the affected areas, the purchase of sophisticated and deadly aerial and ground weaponry and the intensification of search and destroy operations which inevitably involves the civilians in addition to constituting a flagrant violation of the terms and intent of the ceasefire is also a clearcut message to, both, the Eelam Liberation movement and the Government of India.

On Interim Solution

It has been argued that the liberation organisations represented in the ongoing process would be well advised to accept an interim solution, even if it falls short of a just and a permanent solution. The reasons cited is that by joining the mainstream of the "democratic process" embodied in the existing constitutional framework, we could further our struggle in a more effective and a peaceful manner. We do not see the above argument as a viable option, for the following reasons:

(1) It is the Sri Lankan State, not us, which opted for the military solution and, in turn, compelled us to resort to armed struggle;

(2) Even if we are prepared to join the mainstream of "politics", the fact remains **that the democratic process has virtually ceased to function in Sri Lanka.**

(3) As regards the existing constitutional framework, the 1978 constitution not only reaffirmed the undemocratic, non-secular elements of the 1972 Constitution, but went further toward centralization of authority under the guise of a presidential system. **What we do have in reality is a form of Constitutional dictatorship.** Further, as far as the constitutional response to nationality problem is concerned, it is clear that there is hardly any scope for any significant devolution of power, leave alone regional autonomy or a federal form of government under the existing constitutional framework.

Given the above promises and realities, we earnestly request the Government of India to understand our predicament that we cannot be party to any process which would lead to the annihilation of the Tamil Eelam liberation movement and, thus leave our beloved people orphaned with neither a political voice nor military capacity to continue with their legitimate struggle for freedom, dignity, honour and peace.

As a future course of action, we wish to urge the Indian government to intensify the campaign to expose the real intent of the regime and highlight the genocidal situation facing our people. **Further if the Government of India, owing to its own national interests wishes to persist with the process of negotiated settlement, then it is imperative that we be strengthened politically and militarily, so that we could negotiate from a position of strength, not from a position of weakness and under duress.**

Secondly, it is important that the Government of India promote our united front as the sole legitimate representatives of the Eelam Tamils as a rallying point for a political and diplomatic offensive in the international arena. In conclusion, we are of the view that the interests of our struggle for a permanent and just solution to the problem of national oppression and State Terrorism that face our people is inseparably linked to the interests of peace and stability in the Indian subcontinent. We are also hopeful that the strategic role of India in the geopolitics of the region would continue to maintain its anti-Imperialist orientation and the principles of non-alignment by ensuring peace, democracy and social progress.

We also wish to express our sincere gratitude to the Government of India and the Indian people for the solidarity that has been extended to our people.

IF WIVES WENT ON STRIKE

IF women were paid for domestic work and child-care their wages would account for up to half of the national income.

If wives went on strike and refused to do any more domestic work, there would be chaos throughout the world. Young children would wander the streets unattended, barefoot, face streaked with grime. Babies would lie, cold and hungry, crying to be fed. Piles of unwashed clothing would accumulate; mountains of unwashed dishes. Fires would stay unlit. Food would not be cooked. Water would stay in the well.

Such a strike would bring to the world's attention the enormous value of the work that women do at home. As the State of the World's Women Report 1985 points out: "There can be few generalisations that hold as true throughout the world: unpaid domestic work is everywhere seen as women's work, women's responsibility."

If women did demand payment for domestic work, they could reasonably claim a salary of over $14,500 a year, since this is what it would cost to hire people like cooks, cleaners and nurses to provide the services of a U.S. housewife. In fact, according to the Report, by not insisting on payment, women are currently subsidising the economies of countries in the industrialised world by between 25 and 40 per cent of Gross National Product.

The reason women often do twice as much work as men is because of the rigidity of women's and men's roles in society. According to the Report: "There is 'men's work' and there is 'women's work'. And, because many women do additional work outside the home, whereas few men would dream of doing any additional work inside it, 'woman's work' always ends up simply being 'more work'."

It is tradition rather than biology that extends women's temporary role of carrying, bearing and breast-feeding babies into a lifetime of domestic responsibility. And it calls these domestic responsibilities "the major underlying cause of women's inequality," because they restrict women's ability to pursue their education, to earn a good wage, to follow a career, or to take on the time-consuming commitments involved in political activity.

U.N. News Feature

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JAFFNA CITY, A SECURITY ZONE

The imposition of a 'Security Zone' in the northern Tamil city of Jaffna extending up to 1000 metres from the army camp at the Dutch-built Jaffna Fort has created panic and fear among the city's population. People have always felt, and army sources have time and again let it be known, that the government would not hesitate to totally destroy and wipe out the Jaffna city if and when the situation demanded it. Jaffna was first completely destroyed in the 16th century by the Portuguese when the Tamil king at that time refused to surrender.

Already there have been several incidents in which the army had fired mortars from within the Fort into the Jaffna town causing heavy loss of life and property. The Minister of National Security recently admitted in Parliament that the Veerasingham Hall was hit by mortar fire from the Fort and badly damaged. He said: "Our guns are powerful. About 1000 metres could be reached. No government is willing to divulge what it proposes to do with its weapons."

The area covered by the 'Security Zone' is the busiest part of Jaffna. It encompasses several hundreds of homes, shops, businesses, industrial concerns, offices, schools, places of worship, the Jaffna Public Library, the main bus station, the grand bazaar, the general hospital etc. The perimeter of the Zone skirts the railway station; but who is going to measure the exact distances, and certainly shells fired from the ramparts of the Fort do not have the capacity of discrimination to avoid properties and persons outside the zone. **The area covered by the zone constitutes not only the nerve centre of the town but represents the pulsating heart of the Jaffna Peninsula, and indeed of north Sri Lanka.**

In an apparent attempt at allaying the apprehensions of the people of Jaffna, the local Army Commander stated that no one would be required to vacate the area covered by the Security Zone. But everyone within the range of 1000 metres from the Fort would be answerable for any acts of violence in the area and be liable to be bombarded with heavy artillery.

The government has thus granted a licence to the military to use long range weapons including mortars and propelled grenades which would result in certain destruction of civilian lives and property in the event of a violent incident. The people of Jaffna have become dispensable hostages for the armed forces secure in the safety of the Jaffna Fort. The government by setting up the Zone has provided the legal framework and its declarations have confirmed that it has given to its security forces an unfettered discretion to retaliate against uninvolved, non-combatant, unarmed and defenceless Tamil civilians and their property, and public property at that, in the event of even a single incident of violence caused by the militants. Judging from past record, it is evident that the undisciplined and trigger-happy army would not require even such an incident to wreak havoc and destruction.

There is no doubt that, as far as the government is concerned, it sees no distinction between civilian Tamils and armed militants. To the government, 'terrorists' are Tamils and therefore all Tamils are 'terrorists'.

The Jaffna Peoples' Action Committee, comprising delegates from Citizens' Committees, at a meeting summoned by that irrepressible Sinhalese journalist and editor of Saturday Review, Mr. Gamini Navaratne, resolved to demand the withdrawal of the Security Zone and the removal of the army camp from the Jaffna Fort. The Jaffna Mothers' Front has been staging a Gandhian style Satyagraha outside the Government Agent's office from January 22. There have been several demonstrations to protest against the government's action.

Asked about the large number of government and other public buildings found within the Security Zone, the Minister of National Security had stated: "They must be shifted 1000 metres away from the camp. There are enough places in Jaffna where these offices could be housed". Such callous response is typical of this Minister. Where does he think that the many schools, the general hospital, the Jaffna Bazaar, the bus station, the shops etc. can be moved? "His aim seems to be to create a situation in which he could destroy the Jaffna city as a whole", commented a member of the Jaffna Citizens' Committee.

It is stated by the government that the Security Zone is required to protect the armed forces within the Jaffna Fort from attacks by Tamil militants. Even if it is a justifiable claim, it begs the question; **why place the army camp in the middle of the town, and then expose the town and its people to death and destruction for the sake of providing security for the armed forces?** Would it not have been sensible to set up the army camp removed from centres of civilian activity with a clear field of fire against the militants if and when they came to attack?

A church leader in Jaffna said, "The police destroyed half the Jaffna city in August 1977. Again in May–June 1981, the forces set fire and burnt the market square, shops, printing presses and the Jaffna Public Library. Now the armed forces, equipped with powerful weapons, are in the Jaffna Fort capable of destroying Jaffna to the ground without giving even a moment's notice. Even if it happened, it will be a temporary victory to the forces of evil. Eventually justice will prevail, and the Tamil people have justice on their side, for they have not harmed the Sinhalese people; they do not deny the Sinhalese people their rights; they are only asking what is legitimately their's. And therefore God will not let them down."

'Shift Jaffna Fort Army Camp And Repeal Security Zone Law'

The Muslim public of Jaffna in a memorandum to Jaffna GA Mr. M. Panchalingam has appealed to Government to repeal the Security Zone legislation and have the Army Camp in the Fort shifted.

This memorandum submitted by over 5,000 Muslims participating in the demonstration launched in Jaffna last Tuesday (21 January) states that 20,000 Muslims in Jaffna have been affected economy-wise, by the declaration of the Security Zone.

These are some extracts from the memorandum:

"All our business establishments, buildings, dwellings and properties come within the Security Zone of 1000 metres in Jaffna. As the people who patronise our shops are afraid to come to the shops, our income would be reduced.

Earlier many Muslim buildings had been shifted near the fort. By the introduction of the Security Zone, the economic conditions of the Muslim population may be destroyed. 20,000 Muslims are badly affected.

On the very first day of the announcement of the declaration of a Security Zone three Muslims were killed by the "mortarfiring" which came from the Fort. Many more Muslims will die in future in this Zone.

Nine mosques, four Muslim schools, a Muslim maternity home, a Muslim Sub PO, a Muslim library and several other institutions and government establishments come within this Zone.

Hence we appeal to the President to repeal this Security Zone legislation and remove the Army Camp from the Jaffna Fort."

The procession which started with a thousand, including **many Muslim women began** to swell and grow in length. Several hundreds of students, traders, business magnates who waited at key junctions, as far as the Jaffna Secretariat, joined the ranks of the procession and finally when it reached the gate of the Secretariat there were about five thousand.

Mr. Panchalingam, Jaffna assured action would be taken.

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"OPERATION BULLET-RAIN"

Kills 17 & Injures 91

FIVE innocent Tamil civilians were killed and several injured on January 4 when helicopter gunships sprayed bullets into the heart of the city of Jaffna. This action of the security forces was calculated to prevent civilians from giving evidence to the Ceasefire Monitoring Committee.

On this day, the CMC was to visit Jaffna and hear evidence from Citizens' Committees and individuals about army excesses. The venue was to be Hotel Ashok situated in the centre of the Jaffna city. The Citizens' Committees had already made representations that the members of CMC should not be accompanied by the security forces while hearing evidence because civilians would be deterred from coming forward in the presence of service personnel.

On 4 January, at about 8 am, under the pretext of providing air cover to some ground troops trying to defuse a land mine in the vicinity of Hotel Ashok, helicopters swooped down and sprayed several rounds of bullets into the area. Five people, including a Muslim lady, were instantly killed and 21 were seriously injured during this indiscriminate bullet-rain from helicopters. Some of the bullets had gone through the walls of the Jaffna General Hospital and into its offices.

The list of victims is as follows:–

Killed: (1) Anthony Thasan of Gurunagar; (2) Nagoor Sinnamma (50) of Mosque Lane; (3) R. Wenceslaus (51) of Gurunagar; (4) Nadarasa Gnanam (53) of Koddady and (5) K. Sivanathan of Velanai.

Injured: (1) M. Najuldeen (27) of Kodddady; (2) T. Vimalenthirarajah (15) of Mathagal; (3) S. Sivarasa (26) of Tinneveli; (4) S. Murali (20) of Gurunagar; (5) T. Sebastiampillai (45) of Naranthanai; (6) S. Vigneswaran (20) of Tinneveli; (7) S. M. Kanagaratnam (60) of Tellipalai; (8) N. Kanapathipillai (25) of Jaffna; (9) S. Kunam of Koddady; (10) K. Miraj (25) of Azad Street; (11) A.N. Nizar (25) of Muslim Street; (12) S. Sivasubramaniam (47) of Karaveddy; (13) S. Ranjan (21) of Mirusuvil; (14) S. Wenceslaus (50); (15) S. Kirupakaran of Ariyalai; (16) N. Nazir (17) of Jaffna; and (17) S. Sivanandan (17) of Thikkam.

Following their 'successful operation', the security forces informed the members of the CMC, who were waiting at the Palaly Airport, at 9.30 am "that as a consequence of those events, Jaffna town was deserted and there was no likelihood of either the Citizens' Committee or witnesses appearing before the Committee on 4th January". Thereupon the CMC decided not to hold its hearing on that day – the security forces had achieved their aim and sabotaged the hearing at the cost of 5 lives and 21 injured.

The CMC thereafter decided to commence hearings on the following day if the situation improved, and also to inquire into the incidents of 4th January.

In the afternoon of 5 January, Jaffna city was suddenly rattled by the sound of machine gun fire and mortar fire from the Jaffna Fort and firing from helicopters. This action of the security forces raining bullets from the air left 9 people, including 4 customs officers – among whom was Mr. Chelliah Ganesh, an Assistant Collector of Customs – dead, and more than 70 injured.

People in the central Jaffna Bazaar were struck by shrapnel from exploding mortar shells fired from the ramparts of the Jaffna fort. One such 'victim' was the statue of the old Tamil literary sage, Thiruvalluvar, which was decapitated.

Among the dead were: (1) Tharmalingam Thilakaratnam, a Customs officer; (2) Sebamalai Thevathasan, a Customs officer; (3) Chelliah Ganesh; (4) Balendra (32) of Vannarponnai; (5) an unidentified woman; (6) Miss. Shanthi (17) of Mathagal; (7) Annalingam, a labourer; (8) an unidentified male; (9) Rupa Tharmalingam, a Customs officer.

10 KILLED AT RAILWAY STATION

TEN TAMIL civilians, including women and children, were killed on the spot and several more seriously injured on 25 January at the Kilinochchi Railway Station in northern Sri Lanka when the army fired indiscriminately into a crowd. On the following day, reports attributed to Ministry of National Security sources appeared in newspapers to the effect that 'Ten Terrorists' were killed at Kilinochchi by the army.

However, a press communique issued by the government and published in the Island (28 January) stated that while some infantry men were providing covering fire to other members of the security forces engaged in an operation against Tamil militants, "one of the soldiers went berserk and fired his weapon in frenzy into the railway station, killing ten persons including some women and children, and injuring seven others. The other soldiers immediately over-powered the soldier and took his weapon away and prevented him shooting any more at the people and the railway station".

Eyewitness reports indicate that, contrary to the government's claim of one soldier going berserk, more than one soldier was engaged in this indiscriminate massacre at the railway station. But what is more intriguing is the government's attempt to exonerate even the soldier who is supposed to have gone berserk, on alleged grounds of 'temporary insanity' even before an inquiry into the incident had been initiated.

According to a report, quoting army sources, published in the Island (29.1.86), the soldier concerned was to initially face a medical inquiry before a team of psychiatrists and medical personnel to determine whether he had "gone through a phase of temporary insanity". If he was found to be so, he would be "medically treated and in all probability discharged". Not that the soldier or his lawyers had raised a defence of insanity, for this act of gunning down ten innocent people, at an internal inquiry, court martial or criminal prosecution. But the army was already offering excuses in advance for 'no action' against this soldier.

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THE TULF PROPOSALS FO

At the request of the Indian government, and in response to the proposals put forward by the Government of Sri Lanka, the Tamil United Liberation Front (TULF) has submitted a comprehensive scheme for a political solution to the ethnic problem in Sri Lanka. In brief, the TULF proposals envisage Sri Lanka to be a union of two linguistic regions with a substantial measure of autonomy for the regions which are to be vested with powers that approximate to those presently enjoyed by Indian States. The Tamil linguistic region is to incorporate the northern and eastern provinces into one unit.

PREAMBLE

The Tamil people gave a mandate to the TULF in the 1977 election to establish an independent state of Tamil Eelam. At the all party Conference in Colombo we reiterated our mandate but indicated our willingness to consider any viable and acceptable alternative put forward by the Sri Lankan Government. The Government of Sri Lanka has persistently failed to place any meaningful proposals which merit consideration.

In order not to frustrate India's efforts to work out a satisfactory solution to our problem, we now submit these proposals to the Government of India.

DRAFT

Part I

Sri Lanka that is Illankai shall be a Union of States. The Northern and Eastern provinces, which are predominantly Tamil-speaking, shall constitute one Tamil Linguistic State.

The territory of a State, once established, shall not be altered without its consent.

Parliament

The Legislative power of the Union shall vest in a Parliament.

Parliament shall have the exclusive power to make laws in respect of any of the matters enumerated in List One.

The membership of Parliament shall reflect the ethnic proportion of the Union.

Special provision shall be made to ensure the representation of Muslims and Tamils of recent Indian origin who do not occupy contiguous areas.

No Bill or Resolution or part thereof affecting any nationality shall be passed, unless a majority of Members of Parliament belonging to that nationality agree to such a Bill or Resolution or part thereof.

Part II

Special Constitutional Provisions:

CITIZENSHIP: Notwithstanding anything in the Constitution of any other law regarding citizenship, all those who are not citizens of a foreign country and who were resident in Sri Lanka on 1st November, 1981 and their descendants shall ipso facto be citizens of Sri Lanka.

OFFICIAL LANGUAGE: Constitutional provision shall be made to make Tamil also an official language.

UNION SERVICES: Provision shall be made in the Constitution to ensure that the ethnic proportion is reflected in all union services, including the armed forces. Union Services shall also include public sector service.

Part III

STATES: There shall be a Governor for each State. Who shall be appointed by the President of the Union, in consultation with the Chief Minister.

There shall be an elected assembly for each State.

Each Assembly will have its elected Presiding Officer.

Elections to State Assemblies shall be on the basis of territorially demarcated electorates. Provision shall be made to ensure adequate representation for Muslims in the Tamil Linguistic State.

The legislative power of the State shall vest in the State Assembly.

The Assembly shall have exclusive power to make laws for such state or any part thereof in respect of any of the matters enumerated in List Two.

When a Bill has been passed by the Assembly it shall be presented to the Governor. He may assent or send it back for reconsideration. If the Bill is passed again, with or without amendment, the Governor shall give his assent.

The Executive Power of the State shall vest in the Chief Minister and Council of Ministers.

Executive power of the State shall extend to all matters with respect to which the Legislature of the State has power to make laws.

Largest Party

The Governor shall appoint the Leader of the largest Party in the Assembly as Chief Minister. The Chief Minister shall choose the members of the Council of Ministers.

The State Assembly shall have power to levy taxes or cess and mobilise resources through loans and grants.

All the revenues received by the Government of a State, all loans raised by that Government, and all moneys received by that Government shall form one consolidated Fund to be titled "Consolidated Fund of the State".

Some duties and taxes shall be levied and collected by the Union Government but shall be assigned to the State within which such duty or tax is leviable.

The President shall appoint a Finance Commission to be presided over by the Governor of the Central Bank. There shall be three other members, one of whom shall be a Sinhalese, one a Tamil, and one a Muslim.

High Court

There shall be a High Court for each State and such other courts and tribunals as are necessary. The High Court will be the Court of Appeal for other courts in the State and shall have superintendence and control over all other courts and tribunals in the State. Appeal will lie to the Court of Appeal from judgements of the High Court. The Supreme Court shall deal with constitutional matters.

Each State will have a State Service consisting of:

a) Officers and other public servants of the State; and

b) Such other officers and public servants who may be seconded to the State.

State will have a State Public Service Commission for recruitment and for exercise of disciplinary powers relating to the members of the State Service.

Part IV

Special provision for Tamils of recent Indian origin:

In order to meet the needs of the Tamils of recent Indian origin, and to ensure that they enjoy a sense of security, and to provide for their participation in Government, suitable administrative arrangements and institutions shall be established, for example the establishment or creation of an administrative district. Gramasevaka divisions shall be modified so as to comprise estates where Tamils of Indian origin are in the majority. Such Gramasevaka divisions could be brought together to form an AGA's division, in the same manner as the Vavuniya, South Sinhala AGA's division, was created. Such AGA's divisions could be brought together to form an Administrative and/or Electoral District. Tamils of recent Indian origin, resident outside such administrative districts, envisaged above, other than in the Tamil Linguistic State, should be entitled to settle in such Administrative Districts and pursue their legitimate vocations if they so desire. Likewise such persons should be entitled to settle and pursue their legitimate vocations in the Tamil Linguistic State.

List One:

Defence, Foreign Affairs, Currency, Posts and Telecommunications, Immigration and Emigration, Foreign Trade and Commerce, Railways, Air

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OR REGIONAL AUTONOMY

Ports and Aviation, Broadcasting and Television, Customs, Elections, Census.

Part Two

The following among others:

Police & Internal Law and Order, Land and all its uses, Education including University and Technical Education, Archaeology, Culture, Industries, Fisheries, Local Government, Excise, Agriculture, Irrigation, Agrarian Services, Health, Prisons and Reformatories, State Transport and Roads, Cooperative Development.

The Northern and Eastern provinces have been traditionally recognised as Tamil Speaking areas from the days of British rule. This was the position at the time of the British conquest of the Maritime Provinces of Ceylon. Sir Hugh Cleghorn in a report to the Colonial Office in 1799 stated as follows:

"Two different nations, from a very ancient period, have divided the Island. First, the Sinhalese in its Southern and Western parts, from the river Walawe to that of Chilaw and secondly, the Malabars in the Northern and Eastern Districts" (Malabars is used to refer to the Tamils).

Throughout British rule and even after independence the Northern and Eastern provinces have been treated separately for administration e.g. recruitment of Divisional Revenue Officers, Assistant Commissioners of Local Government, Local Government Clerical Service etc., for all these purposes the Northern and Eastern provinces were treated as a separate unit.

Under the Constitutions of 1972, and 1978, the Northern and Eastern provinces were recognised as a Single linguistic entity wherein the Tamil language shall also be used as the language of Administration, for the conducting of business by local authorities and in the courts of original jurisdiction. These two provinces are predominantly Tamil speaking. The Northern province is 97% Tamil speaking and in the Eastern province 75% of the population have Tamil as their mother tongue. In the combined Northern and Eastern provinces the Tamil speaking people form over 86 percent of the population. In the same way that India has solved its multilingual problem by creating linguistic states the Tamil linguistic area i.e., the Northern and Eastern provinces should be made into one unit.

The preservation of the integrity of these areas as the Homeland of Tamil people was the basis of the agreements and pacts between the Tamil leaders and the major Sinhala parties in 1957, 1960 and 1965.

The preservation of the Northern and Eastern provinces as the Tamil homeland is intimately linked to the security of the lives and property of the Tamil people. After every wave of violence several thousands of Tamils have returned to these areas and sought permanent settlement there. After the Island-wide violence against Tamils in 1958, 1977, 1981, and 1983, the government had to transport hundreds of thousands of Tamils who had sought refuge in camps, by ships or in convoys overland, to the Northern and Eastern provinces. Since 1977 as a result of repeated pogroms against Tamils in the Sinhala areas over 200,000 Tamils from the Plantation areas and several thousands from other areas have become permanent residents of the Northern and Eastern provinces.

Tamil Refugees

When the Tamils in these areas became targets of attack by the Sinhala armed forces they started fleeing across the sea to South India. The influx of Tamil refugees into India did not take place prior to 1983 because all the refugees from the other seven provinces were able to live in safety in these two provinces. The refugees in India can go back only to these two provinces and if they are to be rehabilitated and enabled to live in safety the creating of a unit consisting of these two provinces with adequate powers in the hands of the Tamils is essential. A substantial number of these refugees are youths between the age of 18 and 30. They have to be rehabilitated on a planned basis over the entire Tamil homeland and not in one province. The Sinhala Government will never do this and the return of these refugees to their homes will prove elusive.

Historically, the Northern and Eastern provinces have been predominantly populated by the Tamil people. In 1921, according to the Government Census, Tamils constitute an absolute majority in every district in Northern and Eastern provinces, viz., Jaffna, Mannar, Vavuniya, Trincomalee and Batticaloa districts. (The present Amparai district was part of the Batticaloa district till 1960). In the entirety of the Eastern province the Sinhala population was less than 5 percent. State sponsored colonisation of the Tamil areas with Sinhalese has resulted in the erosion of the territorial base of the Tamils. (This is dealt with fully in the section on land policy).

However, Tamils today constitute 92.5 percent in the Northern province and 42.1 percent in the Eastern province and 68.70 percent of the Northern and Eastern provinces taken together. The balance 18 percent of the 86 percent of Tamil speaking people are Muslims. Given the chance the vast majority of the Muslims will throw in their lot with the Tamils and if devolution of power to the Tamil linguistic unit becomes certain suitable arrangements with the total support of the Muslims in the Eastern province can be made. Their leaders from the province have assured us of this. Fear of reprisals against Muslims in the other seven provinces (who are two-thirds of the total Muslim population in the Island) is what stands in the way of their openly identifying themselves with the Tamils.

District Councils

The vast majority of the people of these two provinces have democratically signified their desire that these areas be treated as the Tamil homelands, in the elections to the District Councils in 1981. The TULF got an absolute majority of the votes cast in the Jaffna, Vavuniya, Mannar, Mullaithivu, Trincomalee and Batticaloa districts. The only exception was the Amparai district which is most affected by Sinhala colonisation. The absolute majority that the TULF got in the Trincomalee district is an indication that a majority of the Muslim voters also had made common cause with the Tamils. In the Batticaloa district more than two-thirds of the voters voted for the TULF in the District Development Council elections. In the Trincomalee district elections were held to elect 23 members to Parliament since 1947. 14 of these members were from the Tamil Parties, three from the UNP three from the SLFP and three were independents with Tamil support. It was only in 1977 that a Sinhalese member of Parliament was elected from the Trincomalee district for the first time. In addition to all these reasons Trincomalee has to form part of the Tamil linguistic unit for reasons of geographical contiguity.

Dr. H. W. Jayawardene stated at the Thimpu Conference, on 12th August, 1985 that the Northern and Eastern provinces would in affect cover approximately 30 percent of the land area and 60 percent of the sea-coast of Sri Lanka. In evaluating the land mass which should equitably constitute the Tamil homeland, we should have regard to the fact that the entirety of this land is in the dry zone and is substantially undeveloped. Even in this area a substantial percentage of the irrigable and developed land has been settled with Sinhala people (e.g. Padaviya, Allai, Kantalai, Pavatkulam, Mahavilankulam and Gal-Oya schemes) on the other hand no Tamils have been settled in any of the irrigation schemes outside the North and East. In the Amparai District the major part of the irrigable land has been settled with Sinhala people. It has become almost impossible for the Tamils to own property or to earn a living outside the North and East. The Northern and Eastern provinces are economically backward and do not enjoy the infrastructure and the resources of the rest of the country. Thus it will be seen that no prejudice is caused to the Sinhala people by the incorporation of the two provinces, into a single unit.

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"NATIONAL IDENTITY IS THE QUESTION"

Q: What do you think of the relations between the terrorists and the ordinary people of the north? We hear of many robberies, of gold and other things. Then there are lamp-post killings . . .

A: The averge Tamil citizen sees the youth militant as a potential political force that can deliver to him the goods the politicians of the by-gone age have failed to give.

The government is now calling them separatists. That is a fair description. But, again, in Thimpu they have agreed to work within the national framework. As an academic I would say, please don't go for a pop-culture type picture of a terrorist. It is different. Those of us who are intellectuals or in the field of studying society in terms of its own movements and dynamism must be very careful. If you create monolithic characters, your chance of coming to understand them is going to be very very difficult. If we have to have a national polity, if Sri Lanka has got to be one, the future generations, Sinhalese and Tamils, have got to come together. These people who you are now branding as terrorists have got to be those citizens. I think anyone with any political vision should be very careful in not falling for this stereo-typing.

Q: What you are saying in effect is that the people of the north are giving some kind of support . . .

A: No, no . . .

Q: If only moral support to the . . .

A: I don't want to be misunderstood. In the south, a clear view has been cultivated. When you say providing support, it can mean so many things. You can be arrested for it. Do you know that you can be arrested and kept for eighteen months without any inquiry just because you have not gone to a police station and told about it. And there are no police stations in Jaffna. I would like to be very careful with words at this point.

You are postulating the question as if the Tamil people have no grievances. That everything is all right. That here are a group of people who are dancing around for some terroristic work. That they have nothing beyond terrorism in mind. No, it is not that. They have a particular political demand to make, a particular social necessity to perform. The government itself has realised this. Thimpu is a landmark in our history because the government has realised you have to have a dialogue with these people, straight or through somebody else. I am not trying to rationalise or justify them, I am telling you to understand. Unless you understand them sociologically and politically you will not get anywhere near a solution.

Q: What about things like the killings of the two ex-TULF M.P.s and the Principal of St. John's College?

A: Violence has become the order of the day. One cannot say these things have not been done. But the society in Jaffna has not kept silent, it has reacted in some way to show it does not like it. I openly condemn these killings. Mr. Anandarajah was a friend, working with us in the Cit. Com. but it is not only condemning violence. Those in power should see to it that violence does not become a way of saying things. How do we solve this? Does the Cit. Com. have any political power? We can only issue a statement.

Karthigesu Sivathamby is Professor of Tamil at the University of Jaffna, occupying the Chair previously held by the internationally-known Tamil scholar, Prof. Kailasapathy. Before that, he was at the Vidyalankara University (as it was known) and also had a stint of teaching at Zahira College, Colombo. Today he is the President of the Citizens' Committee of Valvettiturai and until a few weeks ago a member of the Committee for Monitoring the Cessation of Hostilities.

I'll come on to a question which I am frequently asked, which may be in your mind: Why don't you people say something against terrorist violence? And why are you people always saying against the government? We are citizens only in relation to the government. We are dealing with the government because those who should are not. Not because they want to be away but because they just cannot function. Our primary task is to see that we continue to lead our normal lives in social terms. Primarily, we have to tell certain things to the government. I do not think the boys are yet the government. Are they? They are not. In Sri Lanka there is not one area that could be called a liberated zone. Whenever some of the militant groups have gone beyond certain points of behaviour, there has been a response. But we mustn't think that the Tamil people are living in this country without any political and social grievances.

Q: But would all the grievances in the world justify the killing of civilians? For instance, on four or five occasions the terrorist groups have killed Sinhala civilians. The most notable being the massacre of 150 in Anuradhapura.

A: I call this a brutalisation of Sri Lankan politics. I was most unhappy when the killings took place . . . But how did this brutalisation take place? I think it started with army brutalities, in Jaffna. If it had acted as the state army, there wouldn't have been any major problem. Unfortunately, due to various historical factors, the average soldier who comes there considers himself a Sinhala soldier in a Tamil area, trying to keep it down. And the Tamil man thinks here is a Sinhala army trying to oppress. There has been a brutalisation. And I am afraid this was the result of that brutalisation. As citizens, in whichever part of the country we are, we must cry halt to this brutalisation.

Q: What impact do you think this brutalisation has had on Tamil society in Jaffna? You said you were a student of Tamil society. It is a very conservative society. A caste-ridden society. There is a popular perception in the south that a lot of people have taken to the gun because with it they gain entrance through the front door to houses to which they wouldn't be able to go to except through the back door.

A: This is again a misconception. Because of its underground character, and violent nature there has never been an open study on the youth militancy. The sooner it is done the better for everyone, because we can understand the phenomenon. It was easier to understand and tackle the problems of 1971 because there was an open study of it.

The youth movement encompasses a whole range in which caste is not the decisive factor. Caste is there in Jaffna. It is a very silent but significant factor in Jaffna social life. But it does not mean that it has a determining role in this whole process of youth activities.

Q: A related question. I visited Trinco and Batti in March last year and there was a definite feeling among the older generation – though not among the younger – about Jaffna dominance of their lives. They even feared it. In the event of a zonal council or federal system in Sri Lanka where the north and east are merged, what would you have to say – coming from the north – of this dominance?

A: I have written about it. But the way successive governments have dealt with this problem has led to a Tamilian identity in Sri Lanka which today cuts across regional boundaries. There has arisen an identity of a Tamil in relation to the Sinhalese people. This has brought in a solidarity which was never there earlier. It was true that Jaffna's problem was universalised as those of the Sri Lankan Tamils. It is also true that there has been an anti-Jaffna feeling, and justifiably so. But now, in view of what the Tamils perceive as a Sinhala dominance, they have come together. Even the up-country Tamils feel, irrespective of all the exploitation by Sri Lankan Tamils, safe in those areas.

Continued on page 15

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HOW NOT TO SOLVE THE NATIONAL QUESTION

PRESIDENT JAYAWARDENE is at his familiar game again. According to his latest interview with the BBC as well as his speech at the Commonwealth Conference, the armed struggle that is being waged by Tamil nationalists is not aimed at a separate state for Tamil people but at a Marxist state throughout Sri Lanka. So there is no ethnic question as such but a big conspiracy hatched by marxists to gobble up the whole of Sri Lanka.

This was precisely his main theme at the end of May 1985. He branded all the opponents of the UNP government as terrorists and threatened to unleash a wave of terror against those terrorists. His theat to impose Martial Law following the footsteps not of Mahatma Gandhi but Zia-Ul-Haq was the culmination of his plan to wage war against his opponents. He and his government planned to resort to this as they have failed miserably to solve the national question that really exists in Sri Lanka today. The Workers Marxist Review dealt with his speech and plans in its first issue.

However, the events took a dramatic turn within a week of this speech. That was due to Indian Prime Minister Rajiv Gandhi's direct entry into the scene. Rajiv Gandhi who has presented his credentials to be the Bonaparte of the whole of South Asia, breaking radically from his mother's attitude towards the Tamil national struggle in Sri Lanka, decided to prop-up openly the moribund Jayawardene government.

So the Jayawardene government got a new infusion of oxygen. The man who publicly and categorically stated that it was not an ethnic problem – noteven a trace of it – but only a diabolical marxist conspiracy at once ate his own words and started the so-called peace process at the dictates of Rajiv Gandhi in order to find a solution to the ethnic problem – which, according to him, did not exist! Jayawardene and his gang had nothing to say regarding their canard of marxist conspiracy during the last four months.

Thus the revival of this diabolical lie – with which he plays whenever he is in a blind alley – after such a long process of discussions at Thimpu, at Delhi and at Colombo, after scores of trips across the Palk Strait made by Indian Foreign Secretary Romesh Bhandari as well as by many official and unofficial delegates including his own acolyte minister Thondaman, after fraudulent ceasefire agreements, signifies that Jayawardene has again decided to go ahead with his bankrupt military solution. **The revival of the canard of "marxist plot" is designed to enlist the support of his imperialist masters in this genocide.**

After all, what is the need of finding a political solution to the Tamil national question, if the armed struggle has nothing to do with such a question? Jayawardene is right in his own absurd way. Thus came his pompous belligerency in London. Unfortunately for him, the whole world knows that this Junius – the "genius", who has the unimaginable capacity to "discover" (of course without a shred of evidence) so-called marxist plots at his whim and fancy – had nothing to say about such a plot when his emissary – his own brother – met these "marxist devils" at Thimpu. On the other hand, these peculiar "marxist plotters" had nothing to say on social transformation. In all their speeches at Thimpu one finds only matters relating to the Tamil national question. So much for Jayawardene's canard of marxist conspiracy! This is the man who dared to condemn news reporters in other countries for distorting facts relating to Sri Lanka!

Jayawardene's decision to resort to this worn-out lie at this juncture again demonstrates the insincerity of his government. Nothing will come out of the so-called peace talks with the Jayawardene government, notwithstanding the extent to which Rajiv Gandhi is prepared to go in betraying the Tamil nationalist guerillas. Of course, Jayawardene is "prepared" to give some crumbs cosmetically painted as "devolution of power". This "preparedness" is not due to any "statesmanship" or any sympathy with Tamil people as some of his acolytes such as minister Thondaman want to make us believe, but is due to the desperate state in which his government is placed as a result of their armed struggle. He is scheming to send his so-called political solution, down the throats of Tamil people with the treacherous help of Rajiv Gandhi and to get the Tamil guerillas disarmed at the earliest opportunity and then to go into the offensive not only against the Tamil people but the Sinhala people as well.

Therefore the task of the oppressed sections of the Sinhala people is not to support the UNP government but to carry on its struggle against it, combining their struggle with the struggle of the Tamil people. The recognition of the right of the self-determination for the Tamil people is the key to combining these struggles.

Courtesy – Workers Marxist Review

National Identity *continued*

Q: Are you saying that without a separate state the Tamil people will not be secure?

A: Definitely not. I was explaining the historical antecedents that led to this position. If you are agreed on the concept of ethnicity and of a multi-ethnic Sri Lanka, then let us say that at least for some time hereafter, Tamils constitute one political unit in Sri Lanka. The Sinhalese constitute the major unit.

The entire country belongs to everyone, those who fled should have been rehabilitated where they were before 1983. Has there been any action done? The political situation has become alarming because everybody is taking an entrenched position. My grievance with the Tamil groups is that they fail to understand the genuine fears of the Sinhala people. But there must also be an understanding of the genuine fear of the Tamils.

Q: What about the Muslims? The Tamils have been saying that the Muslims in the north and east have been with them. But can that be said with any conviction after the Tamil-Muslim clashes in the east last year?

A: My personal opinion is that the Tamil parties have not been categorical enough in demarcating the position of the Muslims in the east and north. Even the militant groups have not come out categorically. They are going on the basis that the whole thing is linguistic nationalism. But I think it has now been shown that they are a religio-ethnic group.

But the Muslim leadership has always considered Batticaloa as its backyard. They are land-based, agrarian Muslims, and differ even in socio-cultural terms from those in the southern and central provinces. That doesn't mean I want to piecemeal them when I say all the Tamils have been brought together.

In the case of working out regional inter-relationships, it is the duty of the leading Tamil groups to say what they have to offer the Muslims.

Q: Finally, would you have any comments about the Committee to Monitor the Cessation of Hostilities, or your role in it?

A: The appointment of Mr. Sivapalan and I has been given various interpretations. In a country used to Parliamentary democracy representatives from this group can only view any membership only in that sense. It is intellectually very pathetic to see people unable to think in any other terms. I draw consolation from the fact that I was considered fit enough by His Excellency the President to be nominated to this group. I don't consider myself as representing somebody, only looking after their interest. More than resigning, I would say I found it difficult to continue as a member. I mean every word of it.

We have given our document to His Excellency. That document has certain things which we have known as members of the Monitoring Committee. Now that I am an average normal citizen I would not like to repeat all those things, and I think it would be very unfair to use the knowledge I gained at a privileged level at a non-privileged level. Then it would make no difference between me and an average politician. Even if I am going to be scandalised on this, I am going to maintain my dignity as an intellectual. As you know we are a very very minority group in this country.

[Courtesy of 'The Island' (Colombo) 26.1.86]

Qadri Ismail

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Letters To The Editor

SOME QUESTIONS FOR THE SINHALESE

I WISH to make an appeal to the ordinary Sinhalese men and women living in Sri Lanka or in any part of the world to do some serious thinking, visualise themselves in the position of the Tamils and seek to answer the following questions:

Are not Tamils entitled to self-government as much as the Sinhalese?

How are the Sinhalese adversely affected or injured if they leave the Tamils alone in their dry and barren north and east of Sri Lanka to manage their own affairs, attend to their own problems and be the architects of their own future?

Is it not one of the pivotal roles of the state to provide the infrastructure that can be provided only on a collective basis, to enable the individual citizen to realise the fullness of his personality?

Why do you want to burden yourselves with the complex problem of rationing, on a population basis, vacancies in the university, professions in the government services, etc., when you can fill all the vacancies for yourselves in the south of Sri Lanka if you leave the people of the north and the east to fend for themselves?

Should self-help be at a discount?

Why do you want to incur such huge budget deficits, generate runaway inflation, divert resources from productive activity to unproductive war in the north and the east of Sri Lanka? Do you realise that all this waste is totally unnecessary if you leave the Tamils alone and ask them to leave you alone?

Did not the King of Jaffna in the 17th century do everything in his power to help the Sinhalese King of Kotte to resist the Portuguese especially by providing transit facilities for troops from southern India to reach Kotte?

Was not the Tooth Relic of the Buddha, the most prized possession of the Sinhalese Buddhists, entrusted to the King of Jaffna for safe custody when the King of Kotte was threatened by the Portuguese? Does that not indicate that there was much goodwill and amity between the Sinhalese and Tamils when both had managed their own states? Is it not a good doctrine: we leave you alone; you leave us alone?

The Tamils can assure you, on the strength of inherent circumstances and geography, that in the event of any external threat, the Sinhalese can depend on the fullest support and unstinted cooperation of the Tamil state for the obvious reason that such a course is dictated by the necessity of survival and one's own self-interest.

What the Tamils seek is just the freedom to manage their own affairs and be the architects of their own future. What is wrong with that attitude?

Philip N. Ratnapala
Ottawa, Canada

Rajiv And Tamils

I WOULD like to make the following remarks on the press conference given by Mr. Gandhi, appearing under the heading "Tamil Groups Must Speak Out – Rajiv" in your November issue.

Mr. Gandhi has rightly found fault with the ENLF for not spelling out what they want. He was however silent on the atrocities being committed by the Sri Lankan armed forces under the guise of ceasefire. Mr. Gandhi has a moral obligation to condemn and to bring to an end these actions as the ceasefire was brought about by his efforts. These actions by the Sri Lanka Government are perhaps the cause for the ENLF's silence.

I believe, any observer who had followed the ethnic problem in Sri Lanka and the mediation role by India, would not have failed to observe that the Sri Lanka Government had at least on two occasions taken the Indian Government for a ride.

– first in 1983, immediately after the holocaust of the Tamils, when J.R. (Sri Lankan President) under the guise of Annexure C and the Round Table Conference, bought time to consolidate his army and lobby for international support,

– second in 1985, the so-called ceasefire and negotiations which pulled J.R. from a tight corner, when the Tamil militants were on top, and granted him breathing space to consolidate his army and stockpile arms.

There is no disputing the fact that these two, particularly the second, had been to the great detriment of the Tamil militants' just efforts.

May I ask one question:

Is Indian diplomacy so naive as to be bluffed by the shrewd and cunning J.R.?

Is Indian diplomacy aimed at taking the Tamils for a ride – both in Sri Lanka and India?

K. Lingam
Ikoyi, Lagos, Nigeria

COMPLETE AUTONOMY, ONLY SOLUTION

'MILITARISATION FOR FINAL SOLUTION' by the Sri Lankan government documented by P.R. Ganeshan in TAMIL TIMES (December '85) must have come as a shock to many of its readers. J.R. Jayawardene is up to all tricks. He tried to join the ASEAN. His connection with the notorious regimes of Israel, Pakistan, South Africa, only to name a few, shows to where he is dragging the country. He is now trying to use the SAARC as a forum for his machinations. He has also restored the civic rights of Mrs. Bandaranaike probably to get her to go along with him and restore his sagging support on the domestic front.

One wonders what Rajiv Gandhi is up to. He is yet to experience the political duplicity of Jayawardene. Or, have the Sri Lanka Tamils become pawns in the diplomatic game India is playing with Colombo? The analysis of N. Satyendra about the politics of India and that of Rajiv, however unwelcome to those who enjoy Indian hospitality, is probably correct.

The Tamils from their past experience should know that solutions based on short term expediency have only brought disaster. The only viable solution is complete autonomy for the north and east, and the gradual integration of the plantation Tamils with the Sri Lanka Tamils in these areas. That would permit the Sinhala people to do what they please in the remaining seven provinces and allow the Tamils to live in peace in their own areas. If Rajiv can concede Chandigarh to Punjab to buy peace, why not Jayawardene undo the historic injustice and let Tamils have their own land and live in autonomy and peace.

Tamil Times, Tamil Information and Tamil Herald International have done yeoman service to the Tamils and those sympathetic to their cause by enlightening them. Like the Quit India Call, it is time for us to call Quit the North and East. The Sharvanandas and Pasupathis must be called upon to cease being propaganda weapons in the hands of the government. Quislings must be exposed, and the dedicated must be supported.

Finally, please convey my sincere appreciation to P.R. Ganeshan and I trust he will continue his excellent work.

S. Raghunathan
Mirfield, West Yorkshire, UK.

It's Not Cricket

MORALITY means goodness, distinction between right and wrong, honesty, principled behaviour. The absence of morality, in politics, is concealed by the invention of the new concept of "political morality". This political morality, perhaps better expressed as immorality, was best demonstrated by the Sri Lankan authorities' relationship with the MCC Cricket 'B' team.

The team was hoping to tour Bangladesh, Sri Lanka and Zimbabwe. But since it included players who had played in South Africa, in contravention of the Gleneagles Agreement, both Zimbabwe and Bangladesh withdrew their invitations to the team. As a third world country, as an earlier colonial country, one that could therefore understand and emotionally feel the effect of subjugation and oppression, it was expected Sri Lanka also would have cancelled the tour.

But, no! How can the Sri Lankan government let down the South African regime? After all it has become a major arms supplier to Sri Lanka, for Sri Lanka to massacre its own citizens.

Clinging to power, whatever the cost, of principle or human life, is the name of the game in politics. That is "political morality". It is that game that President Jayawardene plays.

K.R.M.
London

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Hitler and Junius

AFTER READING Mr. Jayawardene's recent interview which appeared in *India Today* of December 15, 1985, I was reminded of Hitler who became notorious for the 'Broken Treaties' he signed knowing very well that he could repudiate them if and when he wanted. He says "The ball is in their court. If they return it we will play. But so far, nothing has been put to us." He is pretending not to know what the Tamils want and taking cover under Rajiv Gandhi's statement. The fact is the Tamil leaders have put forward many proposals which he has turned down many times.

Like Hitler who named his party the National Socialist Party, to kill socialism in Germany, he calls his government the Democratic Socialist Republic of Sri Lanka to kill socialism and democracy. Like Hitler who usurped power to become a dictator, he has concentrated power in his own hands and extended his period by a fake referendum. Like Hitler who played on racial pride and prejudice, he is playing on Sinhala Buddhist chauvinism. Like Hitler who had a plan for the 'final solution of the Jewish people, he has a plan for the 'final solution of the Tamil people', which he has been putting into operation from time to time.

His perverted Hitlerite mind is revealed in some of the statements he made to foreign correspondents and over the radio: "If the Tamils want war, we shall give them war", "I cannot see and my government cannot see any other way by which we can appease the natural desire and request of the Sinhala people", "I am not worried about the opinion of the Tamil people, he has a plan for the 'final solution of the Tamil people', which he has been putting into operation from time to time.

By these irresponsible statements he was all the time inciting and encouraging the Sinhalese hoodlums to attack the Tamils. And by passing the Prevention of Terrorism Act he gave the army, navy and the air force a licence to kill. Now he is threatening to "cut off food and supplies to the Jaffna Peninsula" and starve them to death.

Who are the real 'murderers' and 'terrorists'? Are Jayawardene and his ministers who let loose a reign of "State Terrorism" and committed "genocide" of the Tamil people or the Tamil youths who are fighting for the freedom and self-determination of the Tamils? I leave it to your readers to decide.

Yal N. Alagan
USA.

PRAYERS FROM POINT PEDRO

OUR INSTITUTION, Sri Ramakrishna Sarada Sevashrama, was founded in the year 1969 to serve the poor, the needy and the downtrodden in life. We have been actively engaged in translating our aims into reality for many years.

From August 1984 the situation in our area (*Point Pedro*) has changed greatly. At first a few families lost their chief bread-winners. Some were injured badly so that they could not earn a living. We gave them dry rations, milk powder etc.

Due to the armed forces' presence very close to our town, two schools adjacent to the camp were forced to shift; places of worship became deserted. Many abandoned their houses and are living elsewhere.

The fisher folk were badly hit. Many do not go fishing except very close to the shore. The business people are also badly affected. Life here is very unsettled and not at all happy.

During 1985 more than 120 families, who had either lost the head of the household or the chief bread winner, came to us for succour. With our limited resources we gave them clothes, dry rations and at times even cows to restart them in life. We have now commenced rebuilding houses which had been destroyed.

In short it is not safe to live in our own place where our ancestors lived in peace and security for several hundred years. Many of our people have been forced by the conditions prevailing here to leave their traditional homeland and migrate to Europe and America. Living in other parts of the island is not safe either. It is therefore not surprising that people choose to emigrate.

I read in the newspapers that there is a suggestion these refugees could be settled in South Sri Lanka. It is our earnest appeal that such a move should not be made as it will end in disastrous results. This has been our experience in the past.

The aspirations of my community are vital for the country's progress. To stifle the aspirations of a minority community by force will not in any way bring about peace and harmony. What has been preached in theory has never been put in practice by the authorities concerned. We urgently want security, peace and harmony everywhere. This is our earnest prayer to God.

Swami Chidrupanandа

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APPEAL TO RELEASE BRITISH JOURNALIST

PENELOPE WILLIS (54), was reported by the Sri Lankan authorities as having arrived at Mullaitivu on January 17 and visited St Peter's Church asking for accommodation. The next day the priest reported her missing.

She arrived in Mullaitivu in a hired self-drive car. Foreigners are now not allowed to visit the Northern and Eastern provinces and are turned back at security checkpoints. Mrs. Willis apparently carried a written authority from a military officer which enabled her to move freely.

An EROS spokesman said, "the government of Sri Lanka has declared certain parts of the island, mainly the Tamil homelands, out of bounds to all foreigners." (EROS is one of the Tamil militant groups).

"Despite this restriction, a foreigner, claiming to be a British citizen and a journalist, was permitted by the authorities to enter Mullaitivu district in the Eastern Province, an 'out of bounds' area. She was arrested by EROS on 20th January, as her presence there was suspicious" an EROS spokesman said.

"The possibility that she is a spy working for the government has to be excluded. Investigations into the circumstances surrounding her arrival there are under way. Once the verification is completed she will be released unharmed", he added.

It is reported that this is the third visit of Mrs Willis to Sri Lanka; last October she was in Jaffna. She is said to have written articles in journals under the pen name Tremayne. She is from a well known family in Cornwall, England. Her father was the late Air Marshall Sir John Tremayne. She lives with her husband in north Cornwall and they have a grown-up son and daughter.

In the meantime, the Archbishop of Colombo, Rt. Rev. Dr. Marcus Fernando, has called upon those responsible for the disappearance of Mrs. Willis to release her. In his appeal, the Archbishop states, "Now we have heard of the disappearance of Mrs. Penelope Willis from Mullaitivu. In a cable, His Eminence Cardinal Hume of the United Kingdom has appealed for assistance from me – also stating that Mrs. Willis needs daily medical attention. In the name of everything that is humane, I appeal to those responsible for the disappearance of this lady to kindly release her."

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"Women For Peace" Calls For Probe

"Women for Peace", operating from 25, Kirula Road, Colombo 5, has issued the following statement:

We refer to the front page news item in the ISLAND of 3rd January 1986, reporting the rape and shooting of two women by home guards at Mutur on December 25th 1985.

"Women for Peace", an organisation which unites women from all communities to work towards a just, negotiated peace, condemns this atrocity committed against women by persons authorised by the Government to bear firearms.

We are gravely concerned that such incidents are: (a) indicative of the deterioration of law and order in the country, (b) part of the climate of increasing militarisation and (c) the inevitable consequence of arming unsuitable persons in the name of civil defence.

We urge the Minister responsible for National Security and the Minister in charge of the home guards to hold a public inquiry into this incident, to punish those culpable and to take strong measures to prevent further such atrocities. Furthermore, the Government must bear the responsibility for compenating and rehabilitating the victims and their families.

The prolification of law enforcement, civil defence and national defence personnel to deal with the "threat to public security" arising from the ethnic conflict, has resulted in several incidents involving innocent civilians in the South as well as the North. Home guards have been reported to have been involved in cases of rape, assault, theft and settlement of personal vendettas using weapons officially issued for defence purposes.

Unless immediate action is taken to punish miscreants and maintain rigorous standards of discipline and accountability, a grave threat is posed to the general public from those very people who have been entrusted with their security.

Finally the particular violent incident we highlight here makes more imperative a speedy and just resolution to the destructive ethnic conflict paralysing our country.

"HOME GUARDS" *RAPED AND SHOT TWO TAMIL WOMEN*

THE GRUESOME details of how, on Christmas Day five armed home guards posing as soldiers forcibly removed two Tamil women from their house in Mutur, allegedly raped them and later shot them, were revealed at an inquest held into the death of one of the women killed, Mary Agnes Yogeswary (21), by acting Mutur Magistrate Mr M.K. Sellarajah.

The incident occurred in Mutur in eastern Sri Lanka.

Dr. C.C.K. Sellathurai, DMO Trincomalee, who held the post mortem on Yogeswary was of the opinion that death was caused by gun shot injuries and that the victim had been raped before death.

After the evidence of M.H. Mohammadu Basheer, Mary Alphonso and Parameshwary was recorded, the acting Magistrate returned a verdict of homocide and ordered the five suspects to be taken into custody in this connection, and be produced before the Co-ordinating officer Trincomalee for interrogation.

M.H. Mohammadu Basheer, giving evidence, said that on 25th December at about 7 p.m. he was met by one Nawaz who was with four others. Nawaz had told witness that they were army personnel and wanted witness to show the pathway to the house of Jamil at the 64th mile post Mutur. Witness went with them. One of them gave him a gun to be kept with him.

At the 64th mile post the five persons entered a house. Witness did not know whose house it was. Witness was asked to search the drawers of a table. He found some papers. He was then asked to wait outside. After about 15 minutes the five persons came out with two young women and a young man. All of them went to Periyapalam. At the Periyapalam Muslim school witness and the young man who accompanied the two women were asked to wait outside. The five persons went into the school with the two women.

After about 45 minutes one of the five men came out and asked witness to bring the youth for questioning. Witness saw the two women seated in two corners in the school building. After some time the five men, along with the two women, the youth and witness went towards Iddiman Aru. One Nawahir and witness were made to wait at a certain spot before the other four men with the two women and the youth proceeded towards the Aru (river). Nawahir had a hand grenade, a gun, a cartridge belt and a torch with him.

The other four persons had guns identical to those used by army personnel. Five minutes later witness heard a gun shot and thereafter nine gun shots one after the other. 15 minutes later the four men returned and witness was asked to fire the gun given to him. When he declined they gave him a cartridge and forced him to fire the gun. Through fear he fired the gun and his right shoulder was still paining. He had never used a gun before.

Witness later came to know they were Muslim home guards and not army personnel. On the instructions of the leader of the Mosque witness made a statement to Mutur Police about the incident on 27th of December.

Mary Alphonso, wife of Francis (34) said that at about 8 p.m. on the day in question six persons came to their house and ordered her and her husband out. At that time witness's sister Felicia (18), brother Jesuthasan (21) and stepsister Yogeswary (21) were sleeping inside the house. One of the men took witness into the house and searched the drawers of a table and boxes. They took two wrist watches from a drawer. That person ordered witness to undress; she refused and cried out "Amma" and ran out of the house.

The men went inside the house, put up the three persons sleeping inside and took them away, saying they were being taken to the army camp for questioning.

Parameswary, wife of Thavarajah (27) said her sister Yogeswary lived with her stepsister in the adjoining house. On December 26 at about 7 a.m. stepmother of witness Anthonyamma inforemd witness that her children had been taken by the army. She wanted witness to help her trace her children. They informed the leader of the home guards there to find out whether the two women and the youth were at the army camp. After some time they were informed that the trio were not taken by the army.

A little while after witness came to know about the discovery of Felicia near the Iddiman Aru. She was not dead and was sent to Trincomalee base hospital.

On 28th witness learnt that the dead body of Yogeswary had been found near Kaddaiparichan Aru. She identified the body as that of her sister. The body of Jesuthsan was not found.

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What The Others Say . . .

A PATRIOT IS WANTED

ON THE ethnic issue, an oft-repeated refrain among Sinhalese chauvinists is that the Tamil people claim a right to have a separate territory for themselves in the North while laying claim to a right to live and work in the South as well.

The problem is that the Tamil people now are not sure of their physical safety even in the areas which they regard as "traditional Tamil territory".

Death rains from the skies on occasion. Death stalks the roads and byways.

Sudden death has become an accepted fact among a stoical people who have no real animosity against the Sinhalese people.

Caught up in a hurly-burly situation fraught with socio-economic tensions, the Tamil people are living in a world of bewilderment.

They pray to their usual gods, who, somehow, seem to have forsaken them in the hour of greatest crisis.

One fact the Sinhalese people should remember is that the Tamil people did not occupy a single inch of the South with State assistance. They came on their own. If anything, many Sinhalese people connived by readily selling their land to Tamil people, as in certain areas in the South – Wellawatte or "Little Tamilnadu" included.

We suggest that those so-called Sinhalese patriots who wax eloquent from public platforms in the South get together and make a systematic "invasion" of the North, though not with State assistance.

The Tamil people are not averse to accepting them, provided they come without the gun and the bullet, Thesawalamai law notwithstanding.

The Kokilai and Nayaru incidents should be good reminders of the faulty thinking in the South.

Patriotism, some fool or other has said, is the last refuge of the scoundrel.

Misplaced patriotism has been the bugbear of Sri Lanka from even before Independence.

If only we could find a real patriot now, among the Sinhalese or Tamil people, Sri Lanka could be a Paradise indeed.

Scanning the list of candidates on the horizon, we cannot find any in Sri Lanka today who has the requisite qualifications.

But we have not given up hope. There is still a chance that some one or other might come forward to save Sri Lanka.

The only problem is that the earliest date we can visualise is 2001 A.D. *Saturday Review (Sri Lanka) 18.1.86*

A NEW TURN IN SRI LANKA

THE RESTORATION on New Year's day in Sri Lanka of the civic rights of Sirimavo Bandaranaike, the SLFP leader and former Prime Minister, represents the redress of an act of gross political injustice resorted to by the conservative ruling party, the UNP, in October 1980 in its narrow interests. Mrs. Bandaranaike might have been no paragon of democratic virtues while in power, but surely the technique of removing from the legitimate political scene for a period of seven years, through a brute parliamentary majority, one's most formidable opponent for "misuse of power" was tantamount to bending the Constitution and the democratic rules of the game in an improper way. Read along with the move to a heavy-handed presidential system, the 'referendum' that denied the people of Sri Lanka as a whole the opportunity to express their wishes freely in a general election and various other political sharp practices, it was a major general setback for democracy in a situation already vitiated by officially-sponsored chauvinism against the Tamil minority. It was no wonder that the ruling United National Party was accused of political fraud by various political groupings belonging to the Centre, Left and minority. The Sri Lankan President's "free pardon" cutting short Mrs. Bandaranaike's disability by a period of nearly two years (the disqualification would have ended in October 1987 in the formal course) provides an opportunity to undo the gross political wrong done earlier and influence the political situation – overall in the island and, most immediately, for the embattled Tamils – in a constructive direction.

What exactly does Sirimavo Bandaranaike's re-emergence in the parliamentary and political arena, free from restrictions and inhibitions imposed by her earlier civic disability, mean for the ethnic question in Sri Lanka? While it cannot be forgotten that the former Prime Minister attempted, in recent months, to sponsor a 'National Front' with distinct chauvinistic undertones, encouragement can be derived from some of her latest pronouncements on the Tamil question. For example, the day before her civic rights were restored in a surprise move, she went on record in an interview to THE HINDU in Colombo that "a political solution is necessary, is absolutely necessary." She spoke out against the official delusion concerning a military solution: "Militarily I suppose you can go on fighting. Fighting, fighting . . . till we are all annihilated." She saw a clear connection between the divisive "game" and tactics pursued by the Sri Lankan President, J. R. Jayawardene, and the "hardening" of positions on the Tamil side. And she sounded positive towards India's attempts to move the dangerous situation towards a negotiated political settlement. The leader of the main opposition party clearly perceives a connection between her perfectly legitimate demand for "general elections" (overdue in Sri Lanka if the democratic label is to be retained with any credibility) and the participation of Tamil political organisations in the democratic process – based, of course, on a timely response to their grievances. How exactly this relation is to be expressed, how the various issues crying out for solution in the island can be balanced and handled, is a matter that is by no means clear at this point. In this context, it is deplorable that atrocities against the hapless Tamils by the armed forces and the state continue, with the deepening involvement of external forces, notably Israel and Pakistan in a reactionary way. It is certainly not political wisdom on the part of the Sri Lankan President to talk constantly of the inevitability of a "military solution" – in the latest round, he has even criticised Mrs. Bandaranaike for expressing herself in favour of a political settlement – even while the TULF's alternative proposals for a semi-federal solution within the framework of a united Sri Lanka are on the table and India's good offices are at work in the effort to find a via media *responding realistically to the interests of various parties to the dispute. Sirimavo Bandaranaike's re-emergence from the semi-wilderness represents an undoubted new turn, but which way will it go so far as the Tamils are concerned?*

Editorial, Frontline (India) 11-24 January, 1986.

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Expatriate engineer in Zimbabwe seeks qualified bridegroom for Jaffna Tamil Hindu sister-in-law, 34 years, English teacher in Jaffna. ***Box M78.***

Jaffna family living abroad are looking for devout Christian partner for good-looking daughter aged 23. London A.L., stenography. Write ***Box M79*** *or call 01-427 0353 (UK).*

Correspondence invited for fair, attractive 34 year old sister Sri Lanka Tamil resident in USA. Divorced after brief marriage. ***Box M80.***

Sisters seek suitable bridegroom for Hindu Tamil lady doctor, 34 years, working in Britain. Please send details, including horoscope. ***Box M81.***

Hindu parents seek professionally qualified bridegroom for Tamil lady doctor, 31 years. Please send details. ***Box M82.***

Jaffna Hindu parents settled Singapore seek professionally qualified bridegroom for their pretty English educated daughter aged 36. ***Box M.83.***

Young, well established Tamil, Hindu businessman (29 years) seeks bride (mid-twenties) with UK permanent residence. Please send basic details. ***Box M84.***

Jaffna Hindu parents seek professionally qualified or well settled groom for their daughter, Madras resident, graduate in Food Preservation, Botany, Chemistry. Additionally trained at Adyar Catering Technology Institute. Write with horoscope if dowry not main consideration. ***Box M85.***

Family seeks bride for Jaffna Tamil ICMA finalist, employed as an Accountant in London. British citizen preferred. ***Box M86.***

Professional Tamil parents, long time UK residents, seek educated bridegroom for their well educated daughter in her early 20s. Religion immaterial. Copy of horoscope, if available, welcome. ***Box M87.***

OBITUARIES

ALAGARATNAM, C. Director & Consultant Engineer, Samuel Sons; Consultant Engineer, Ceylon Cement Corporation; retired Chief Technical Executive, Walker Sons – 174/15, Alwis Ave, Castle St, Colombo 8.

MANICKANADARAJAH, N. Retired DRO/ Asst Commissioner of Probation – 81, KKS Road, Jaffna.

PONNUSAMY, Sivayogavally. (Widow of the late V. Ponnusamy, Proctor S.C., Nuwara Eliya) – 17/1, Frederica Rd, Colombo 6.

PULLENAYAGAM, Rev. Ilex. Late Vicar, St Luke's Church, Borella – Flat 25, Manormead, 56 Tilford Rd, Hindhead, Surrey GU26 6RA, UK.

RAJANATHAN, S. Retd District Judge, Point Pedro – 2 Saratha Lane, Trincomalee.

SHANMUGANATHAN, E.K. Ministry of Finance, Kaduna, Nigeria. Former Principal, Kopay Christian College, Jaffna Central College & Director of Education. Funeral Kaduna – Church Lane, Kopay.

SITTAMPALAM, S. Retd Commissioner, Inland Revenue. Later, Tax Advisor, Ministry of Finance. Cremation Mallakam.

SPENCER, Sugirtharatnam Margaret. (Widow of late S.R. Spencer) – 66 Brown Rd, Jaffna.

THILLAIRAJAH, V. Retd Commercial Supt, Railways – Punnalakatuvan North, Palaly Road, Jaffna.

SRI LANKA, AN ISLAND IN TURMOIL

An all-day forum on the above theme, starting at 10.30 a.m. and finishing in the late afternoon of Saturday, 22 February, will take place at the Oxford Union, St Michael Street, Oxford.

Among the participants will be Professor David Walton (Sussex University), Mr. Bradman Weerakoon (former Sri Lanka Cabinet Secretary), Mr. Mahes Wijesiri (former Lecturer, University of Sri Lanka), Mr. Douglas Wickramaratne (President, Sri Lanka Association of UK), Mr. M. Sivasithamparam (President, TULF), Dr. Neelan Tiruchelvam and Professor A. Jeyaratnam Wilson.

This forum is open to non-members and there will be ample opportunity for questions and discussion.

INCREASED LIFE SPAN!

THE STATISTICS must have been collected long before the present turmoil in the islands or, if recent, it must have excluded the inhabitants of the Northern and Eastern provinces.

According to a UNICEF report, the average life span of a Sri Lankan adult has gone up to 67 years in 1983. The life span was 61 years in 1961.

Further, 14% of the population is illiterate and 46% studied up to grade five only.

21% of the infants are under weight. High income group forms 20%, while low income group constitutes 40% of the population.

'Our little life is rounded with a sleep'

Yet another landmark has been removed from the social and cultural scene of Jaffna, in the passing of **Arasoe Walton, in his 80th year, on January 12.** After his retirement from the judiciary, he lived in his little 'thottam' in the heart of the City, practised his profession in all the Courts of the Northern Province when it was possible to travel around without danger to life or limb, and also found time for everyone, known and unknown, who sought his help and advice. He made a special mark as President of the Jaffna YMCA, one of the few centres of recreation still open to the hapless people of the Northern capital.

He will, however, be remembered not so much as a legal luminary, which he undoubtedly was – there were many eminent lawyers of his generation in his native Vadamaradchi and in every part of the 'litigious' Peninsula – but for his many human qualities. Son of the distinguished Shakespearean scholar and revered schoolmaster, Alagu Walton, he inherited many of his father's talents of actor, humorist, raconteur, paterfamilias.

'Contemplation's sober eye
Such is the race of man
They that weep and they that fly,
Shall end where they began.'

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STATELESS NO MORE?

THE Sri Lankan Parliament passed legislation on 31 January 1986, to grant citizenship to 94,000 Tamil plantation workers, after a boisterous debate.

It is reported that this step followed an accord with India whereby India agreed to take back all those who opted for Indian citizenship before the extended expiry date for repatriation of 30 October 1981.

It is felt that one of the major problems in Indo-Sri Lanka relationship will be removed if the accord is faithfully implemented by the Sri Lankan government.

India will start processing the pending applications for Indian citizenship, six to eight months after Sri Lanka enacts legislation and takes executive action to grant Sri Lankan citizenship to the remaining stateless persons – Tamils of recent Indian origin.

These workers are the descendants of those brought by the British from South India about 150 years ago, to work in the tea and rubber plantations in the then unpopulated central hilly areas of Sri Lanka. They enjoyed equal civic rights with the rest of the indigenous population groups, till the British left in February 1948.

The Ceylon Citizenship Act, passed by the Parliament on 15 November 1948, disenfranchised them. The Ceylon government tried to make out that the disenfranchised were Indian citizens. Jawaharlal Nehru, then Prime Minister of India, refused to accept that interpretation and the Sri Lankan plantation workers became "stateless persons", while continuing to contribute to the economic wealth of Sri Lanka, by their sweat and toil.

The plantation workers were so shocked by the injustice perpetrated on them that some wanted to take drastic protest action. They were dissuaded by their seven elected Members of Parliament and by assurances that the Government of India would compel the Sri Lankan Government to make legislative amendments to rectify the situation.

A few Tamil MPs from the North and Eastern provinces (indigenous Tamils) led by Mr. S. J. V. Chelvanayagam, the Lanka Sama Samaja Party and the Communist Party strongly opposed the 1948 Ceylon Citizenship laws.

The names of the plantation workers continued to remain on the voters' lists and they voted in the 1949 and 1950 by-elections. The last MP to be elected by them was Mr. A. Aziz to represent Maskeliya. The plantation workers were deprived of their right to vote in the general elections of 1952.

The plantation workers' own solitary representative returned to the Sri Lankan parliament in 1977, when Mr. Thondaman was elected as the third member in the three-member constituency of Nuwara Eliya. It was for Mr. Thondaman a return as an elected representative after a gap of 25 years. In the interim period he was the nominated representative to look after the plantation workers' interests. One representative for one million persons in the much vaunted democracy of Sri Lanka!

In October 1964, Sirimavo Bandaranaike, Prime Minister of Ceylon and Lal Bahadur Shastri, Prime Minister of India entered into an agreement which estimated the "stateless population" to be about one million and committed Sri Lanka (Ceylon) to grant citizenship to 300,000 and India to grant citizenship to 525,000. The fate of the balance was to be decided after 15 years. In 1979 the implementation period was extended by a further two years. From October 1981, the issue has hung in limbo.

With the new agreement Sri Lanka's overall liability is for the acceptance of 469,000 Tamils of recent Indian origin as Sri Lankan citizens with full civic rights in that country.

The Indian High Commissioner in Colombo, Mr. J. N. Dixit, negotiated the latest accord with the Sri Lankan Minister for National Security, Mr. Lalith Athulathmudali, and the Minister for Rural Industrial Development, Mr. S. Thondaman, who is the leader of these "stateless Tamils". During his recent visit to India, Mr. Thondaman met the Prime Minister, Mr. Rajiv Gandhi, and had discussions with him on this topic.

Mr. Rajiv Gandhi recently said that stateless Tamils who had been given Indian citizenship and were awaiting repatriation could not be taken back until the Tamil refugees in India went back after a settlement of the ethnic problem. This was interpreted in Sri Lanka as India going back on its earlier commitment.

The latest accord will help to clear up this misunderstanding. It keeps the two issues separate – the problems of the "stateless" Tamils and the struggle of the indigenous Sri Lankan Tamils for their legitimate rights.

When fully implemented, India would have accepted about 600,000 workers from Sri Lankan plantation areas. These arrangements between politicians, governments and officials do not necessarily reflect the wishes of the people involved. The plight of the estate workers who had been repatriated from Sri Lanka to India has not been a happy one.

Exploited Once Again

The 15th of December 1985 was observed throughout Tamil Nadu as the Sri Lankan Repatriates' Day. It was a timely gesture of concern for a deprived community uprooted from Sri Lanka and abandoned to lead a life of destitution in India.

It has taken 21 years since the infamous repatriation agreement, for an Indian show of concern on a mass scale for the pathetic plight of half a million repatriates in India. One hopes that, at least now, the conscience of the people of Tamil Nadu has been sufficiently aroused and that they have been made alive to their moral responsibility to rehabilitate the repatriates and to integrate them into the host society.

Ninety per cent of the repatriates are still languishing under conditions of poverty far worse than those prevailing in the plantations of Sri Lanka. Despite well-conceived schemes of rehabilitation, the repatriates have failed to benefit from them due to the tardy implementation of those schemes. 20,000 families have still not been rehabilitated.

Socially they are still discarded by the people of Tamil Nadu. Officialdom looks upon them as an unwanted burden. Bureaucrats and middle men deprive them of their just dues.

Restrictions are placed on their movement. Their entry into the hilly Nilgris district is curbed. Only about 39 families have been sent to Andaman and Nicobar islands and that was many years ago.

Throughout Tamil Nadu there are thousands of incomplete, roofless houses which are said to have been built with housing loans granted to repatriates. The influx of Sri Lankan repatriates into Tamil Nadu has only introduced a new area of exploitation. The repatriates continue to remain deprived, poverty-stricken and destitute.

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ARMY GANG-RAPES WOMEN AND KILLS TEN MALES

THE GRUESOME account of how four women were gang-raped in their own homes and ten men shot dead by the Sri Lankan security forces on 5 December 1985 was narrated to the Ceasefire Monitoring Committee when it visited the eastern Sri Lankan port city of Trincomalee on 14 December 1985. The four women rape-victims have also sworn affidavits confirming their ordeal.

How the government, and specially the Ministry of National Security headed by Lalith Athulathmudali, cover-up such atrocities and crimes by its rape-gangs and death squads was revealed in the news items that appeared in the Sri Lankan state-controlled media relating to the incident in question. Attributing to sources in the Ministry of National Security, the newspapers reported that ten persons had been shot dead while attempting an escape from an army camp and that many had been arrested in possession of 'Eelam' leaflets.

The 'Thinakaran' of 9 December 1985 reported the incident with headlines: "Sinhala Militants Arrested with Tamil Eelam Leaflets" and "Ten Persons Shot Dead Attempting to Escape from Seru-Nuwara Army Camp". The report followed with the names of those shot dead: (1) S. Vinayagamoorthy; (2) S. Kandasamy; (3) V. Nadesapillai; (4) V. Ganesharatnam; (5) R. Thangavelue; (6) P. Thurairatnam; (7) K. Senathirasa; (8) R. Thangathurai; (9) R.A. Karunadasa; and (10) R.M. Punchibanda. The report also added that a Magisterial inquiry was held at which the verdict given was justifiable homicide.

However, the truthful account of the incident was given by wives of the ten murdered men and the rape victims in their evidence to the Ceasefire Monitoring Committee.

The wives of all the ten deceased, in giving evidence, described how service personnel raided their homes on 5 December 1985 at about 1 am and arrested their men in their homes while they were asleep. They said that no literature whatsoever was found in their possession or homes and that they and their husbands had no connection with any politics.

The four women rape victims also gave evidence and related how they were forcibly raped by several soldiers. Mrs. Upasena Premawathie (a Sinhalese woman married to a Tamil), separated wife of Murugamoorthy, stated in her evidence before the Ceasefire Monitoring Committee that on the night of 5 December whilst she was asleep on the verandah of their home, she heard a tap at the door of the room where her brother and sister-in-law slept, and shouting to open the door. When the door was opened, she saw three persons enter the room; she did not know what happened inside the room because she herself was pushed down onto the floor by a soldier who raped her. A second soldier came up to her to have sex and when she refused, he too raped her by force. When a third soldier approached her, she worshipped and begged him not to harm her, but he forced her and raped her. She also saw her sister-in-law being similarly raped in her presence.

The ten men who were shot dead were all taken into custody during the same night from their homes by the soldiers. The incident occurred in the village of Munnampodivettai in the Trincomalee district.

VICTIMS' TALE IN THEIR OWN WORDS

"I, U . . . P . . ., 29 years of Munnampodivettai, state that on 5.12.85 at 1 am, I and my mother-in-law, T . . ., were sleeping when I heard someone shouting, K . . . has come, wake up. When I got up, I saw 15 military personnel. I saw them taking my two brothers-in-law, K . . . and G . . . Three persons forcibly committed sexual intercourse on me.

Sgd. U . . . P . . ."
Munnampodivettai,
9.12.85

★ ★ ★

"I, G . . . P . . . state that on 5.12.85, I was sleeping with my husband G . . . in my house. At about 1 am, about 10 military personnel came to our house and put us up and took my husband away. One of the men forcibly had sexual intercourse with me.

Sgd. K . . . P . . ."
9.12.85

★ ★ ★

"I, K . . . M . . ., aged 20 years of Munnampodivettai state that on 5.12.85, myself, my husband K . . . and my daughter N . . . aged 11 years were at home. At 1 am about 10 army personnel came to our house and took my husband away. Five persons forcibly had sexual intercourse with me. I regained consciousness at 7 am. I am only 3 months after my last confinement. Later, I was told by my relations that my husband had been shot dead.

Sgd. K . . . M . . ."
Munnampodivettai,
9.12.85

★ ★ ★

"I, T . . . A . . ., aged 32 of Munnampodivettai, state that at 1 am on 5.12.85, army personnel came to my house and removed my husband, and three persons forcibly had intercourse with me.

Sgd. T . . . A . . ."
Munnampodivettai,
9.12.85

Editor's Note: **The signed documents with names are in our possession. However, for obvious reasons, we have avoided spelling out their names in full.**

IT IS WAR

continued from page 1

Perumal, aged 48. He was returning from school on his bicycle, and on seeing two soldiers carrying the dead body of a youth, he got off his cycle and walked wheeling it. As he neared the soldiers, one of them shot him at point blank range and killed him on the spot.

24.1.86: Two Tamils died and several were injured at Nayaru in Mullaitivu when army helicopters fired into the village. On the same day, army helicopters fired into Colombuturai and Pasaiyur in Jaffna – several were injured and 12 houses damaged.

25.1.86: As a small crowd of people was attending the funeral and cremation of the people killed on 23.1.85 at Tellipalai, army helicopters fired into the crowd and as a result one person died and several were injured. On the same day 10 Tamil civilians were killed at the Kilinochchi railway station when the army fired at them indiscriminately.

27.1.86: At Thampalakamam in the eastern province, 10 civilians were killed in a search and destroy operation.

30.1.86: Several civilians were injured due to indiscriminate firing from the army camp at Mullaitivu.

1.2.86: A private van carrying 29 Tamil passengers from Wattakakachchi to Kilinochchi was forcibly diverted by the security forces at Elephant Pass and all passengers shot dead. A big offensive against Tamil militants was carried out by the security forces and reports confirmed by the government indicated at least 90 militants were killed in the Kilinochchi area. However, reports from independent sources indicated that scores of civilians were killed in this operation.

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